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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Berisha Declares Adherence to Geneva Conventions *[ATA]* 1
People's Assembly Endorses 1993 State Budget *[ATA]* 1
Berisha, Saudi Businessmen Discuss Cooperation *[ATA]* 1
Service Trade Union Leader Meets With Arbnori *[ATA]* 1
Tirana Mayor Kelmendi Outlines Municipal Work *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

Turkey's Ayaz Avows 'No Hostile Intentions' *[Ankara ANATOLIA]* 2
Zhelev, Ayaz Have 'Shared Views' *[BTA]* 2
Finance Minister on Upcoming Talks With IMF *[BTA]* 2
IMF Mission Chief Arrives in Sofia *[BTA]* 3
Unions Protest Against Berov Cabinet *[BTA]* 3
'Hooligans' Attack BSP Headquarters in Sofia *[BTA]* 4

CZECH REPUBLIC

Environmental Reasons Cited for Temelin Approval *[CTK]* 5
Environmental Groups Stage Protest *[CTK]* 5
Austrian Parties Protest Decision *[CTK]* 5
World Bank Cannot Prevent Temelin *[CTK]* 5
Communist Party Chairman Jiri Svoboda Resigns *[CTK]* 6
Politicians Regret Resignation *[CTK]* 6
Communist Faction Calls For More Activity *[CTK]* 7
Trade Complicating Czech-Slovak Relations *[CTK]* 7
Parliament Chairman Assesses Visit to Austria *[CTK]* 8
President Havel Arrives in Austria on Visit *[CTK]* 8
Unemployment Falls to 2.97 Percent in February *[CTK]* 8
Sedivy Becomes UNESECO Representative *[CTK]* 8

SLOVAKIA

Letter to EC Decries Hungary's Gabcikovo Stance *[CTK]* 9
Meciar: $700 Million Needed To Stabilize Currency *[CTK]* 9
Toth Informs Deputies of Budget Results *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 11 Mar]* 9
HZDS Conference Opens; Journalists Barred *[CTK]* 10

HUNGARY

Antall Receives Meeting Proposal From Meciar *[CTK]* 11
President Goncz Remarks on Hungarian Press Day *[Budapest Radio]* 11
Interview With Turkish Foreign Minister Cetin *[Budapest Radio]* 11
Jeszenszky Meets With French Official *[MTI]* 12

POLAND

Deep Unease Over DPRK Decision *[Warsaw Radio]* 13
Walesa Seeks More Contact With Foreign Politicians *[PAP]* 13
Wants Right To Check Validity of Treaties *[PAP]* 13
Government To Correct Agriculture Policy *[PAP]* 13

Government Prefers Negotiations Through GATT *[PAP]* 14
Farmers To Receive More Credit From Banks *[PAP]* 14
ZSMP Elects Witfold Firak New Chairman *[PAP]* 14

ROMANIA

Ene Receives Ukrainian Parliament Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 15
Iliescu Meets With Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 15
Premier Vacaroiu Receives Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 15
Foreign Minister Melescanu Returns From Bonn *[ROMPRES]* 15
Vacaroiu, Prefects Discuss Agriculture Campaign *[ROMPRES]* 15
Opposition Condemns Government Economic Program *[ROMPRES]* 16
Reactions to Opposition Motion in Parliament *[ROMPRES]* 16
Chebeleu Views Iliescu Stance on Various Issues *[ROMPRES]* 17
Journalists Briefed on Government Activities *[ROMPRES]* 17
No FRY Ships Held at Drobeta-Turnu Severin *[ROMPRES]* 17
Foreign Debt Reaches $2.2 Billion *[ROMPRES]* 18
Survey Shows Estimates on 1993 Wage Increases *[ROMPRES]* 18
Survey Provides Statistics on Land Distribution *[ROMPRES]* 18
Toxic Waste Prepared for Return to Germany *[Bucharest Radio]* 18

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Says Vance-Owen Map Must Be 'Corrected' *[TANJUG]* 19
Muslim Attack Reported on Nevesinje *[TANJUG]* 19
Serbs Kill Four Civilians, Wound 30 in Konjevic Polje *[AFP]* 19
Serbian Troops Killed in Novakovici *[Sarajevo Radio]* 20
Croatian-Muslim Forces Bombard Nevesinje Area *[TANJUG]* 20
Serbs Shell Bihac, Gradacac, Kalesija, Mostar *[Sarajevo Radio]* 20
Report Says 'Poisonous Gases' Used in Biljeg Area *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
'Chetniks' Drop 'Poison Gases' in Drinja Valley *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Morillon Urges Opening of Corridor to Srebrenica *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Negotiates Passage of Convoy in Zvornik *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Aid Convoy Does Not Arrived *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Morillon Said Held by Muslims *[Belgrade TV]* 22
Says Remains of Own 'Free Will' *[TANJUG]* 22
Authenticity of Statement Questioned *[TANJUG]* 22
Comments on Remaining in Srebrenica *[Paris Radio]* 23
Conditions Made for Release *[Paris TV]* 23
Demands Made on Behalf of Srebrenica *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Srebrenica Official Apologizes *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Morillon Tells Serbs To Trust UN *[Paris TV]* 25
Aid Convoy for Srebrenica To Proceed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Serbs Halt Aid Convoy *[AFP]* 25
Morillon's Departure Made Condition *[AFP]* 26
Army Paper Views Croatian-Muslim Conflict in B-H *[VOJSKA 28 Jan]* 26

CROATIA

Serbs Attack Biograd, Shell Zadar Hinterland *[Zagreb Radio]* 28
Fighting Continues in Krajina *[Belgrade Radio]* 28
RSK Threatens To Expel Croatian Army *[TANJUG]* 28
RSK Soldiers Capture Hungarian Patrol *[TANJUG]* 28
Thirteen Serb 'Terrorists' Captured in Karlovac *[Zagreb TV]* 28
Unions Urge Four-Hour Protest Strike *[Zagreb Radio]* 29

SLOVENIA

Republic Asks for Exemption From Arms Embargo *[TANJUG]* 30

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Foreign Minister Encouraged by Peace Process *[Belgrade Radio]* 31
Says Sanctions Unfounded *[TANJUG]* 31
Army Chief Says Aggression 'Hardly Possible' *[TANJUG]* 32
Blockade of Danube River Postponed *[TANJUG]* 32
Effect of Sanctions on Textile Industry *[BORBA 8 Feb]* 32
Data on Saving Interests in Belgrade Banks *[BORBA 15 Feb]* 33
Problems With Chemical Fertilizer Production *[POLITIKA 16 Feb]* 34
Expert on Islamic Issues Discusses B-H War *[BORBA 19 Feb]* 35
Presentation of New Military Vehicle *[BORBA 20-21 Feb]* 37
Sanction Effects on Rubber Product Factory *[BORBA 22 Feb]* 38
Rampant Tax Evasion on Goods Reported *[BORBA 22 Feb]* 39

Serbia

Leader To Urge Bosnian Serbs To Resume Talks *[TANJUG]* 39
Vance Satisfied With Talks With Milosevic *[TANJUG]* 40
Milosevic 'Very Satisfied' With Paris Talks *[Belgrade TV]* 40
Comments on External Pressure *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
Milosevic's Arguments Against Maps Noted *[TANJUG]* 41
Institutes Protest Statements by Seselj *[BORBA 8 Feb]* 41
Causes of Bread, Flour Shortage Examined *[EKONOMSKA POLITIKA 15 Feb]* 43
Data on Serbian Volunteer Units in Krajina *[BORBA 18 Feb]* 44
Stories of Serbian Volunteers in Krajina *[NIN 19 Feb]* 45
Experiences of Serbian Volunteers in Krajina *[NIN 19 Feb]* 47
DSS President Kostunica on 'Civil Resistance' *[BORBA 20-21 Feb]* 51
Propaganda in Belgrade University Textbooks *[VREME 22 Feb]* 53
Government Criminal Activities Attacked *[VREME 22 Feb]* 55
Police, Government Role in Escalation of Crime *[VREME 22 Feb]* 56

Kosovo

Rugova Assesses Italy Trip, Support *[ATA]* 57
Ideas, Strength of Kosovo Albanian Leader Cosja *[BORBA 20-21 Nov]* 58

Berisha Declares Adherence to Geneva Conventions

AU1203160193 Tirana ATA in English 1140 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—The Albanian party informed the Swiss Government recently on Albania's adherence to the supplement of the protocol of the Geneva conventions of 1949.

As is informed, the President of the Republic Sali Berisha has declared by a special decree Albania's adherence to the supplement of the protocol of the Geneva conventions regarding the protection of the victims of international and non international armed conflicts, which have been adopted in the diplomatic conference of 1979 in Geneva.

People's Assembly Endorses 1993 State Budget

AU1303172893 Tirana ATA in English 1110 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—On March 11, the People's Assembly endorsed the state budget for 1993. According to it the revenues are planned to be 35 billion leks. This program was appreciated as the revenues are planned to be about 2.7 times more than 1992.

In the context of an economy adjusted to the market economy and the structural changes during the second half of the last year, the Albanian economy improved and there was stability in the rate of ensuring income. This six-month period was a good beginning for the state budget program for this year.

The income will be utilized to finance the public expenditure and create opportunities for growing investments, which will contribute to the economic development. The income from taxes hold the main weight in the structure of income for the current year and account for 75 percent of them.

An important factor to realize the income of the budget will be the growing efficiency of taxes and customs administration to reduce fiscal evasion, particularly of the private subjects. The tax policy is drafted in keeping with the mid term program of the government, which is intended to lower the budget deficit and make the economy work.

Berisha, Saudi Businessmen Discuss Cooperation

AU1203210993 Tirana ATA in English 1905 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—A group of businessmen and bankers of Saudi Arabia led by Dr. Fawaz al-Alamy [name as received], vice president and secretary of Saudi Cable CO, paid a visit to Albania from March 9-12, 1993. During their stay in Albania, they visited some industrial, mining, and health centers and had a number of important meetings with political personalities and specialists of various fields in Albania.

In the meeting with the president of the Republic, Mr. Sali Berisha, they expressed their concern to cooperate and make investments in mining industry, in the field of telecommunications, in health sector, and tourism.

President Berisha congratulated them for their projects. He encouraged the Saudi businessmen and bankers to start as soon as possible to realise their projects which will be profitable for both parties.

Service Trade Union Leader Meets With Arbnori

AU1303173193 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—On March 12, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Mr. Pjeter Arbnori met with representatives of the Trade Union League of Public Services of Albania. Minella Kureta, its chairman, presented the worrying problems of the working people of public service sector. Mentioning the very low salaries of the health and public service sectors, he laid the stress on the demand of the working people of these sectors to have an urgent 50 percent payment increase. He also demanded that the government should define the living minimum percentage and the minimum wage through a detailed study on this question, the difference between the payments for very difficult robs, such as for the working people of the sewage system, garbage, streets, central heating, the chimney sweepers, and for sanitary staff working in infections, the five-day working week, the compilation of the status of the refugees, solution of the problems related to ownership on locales in favour of working people, review of the Law on the Strike, some concrete opinions about the Law on Pensions, etc. Mr. Arbnori assured the trade union representatives that the People's Assembly will not pass any law which runs counter to the known international acts.

Tirana Mayor Kelmendi Outlines Municipal Work

AU1303173493 Tirana ATA in English 1114 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—In his interview with the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, the Mayor of Tirana Municipality Sali Kelmendi said that as against the same period last year the efforts to improve the electric network have been greater. Considerable investments have been made to this end. Work is being done to create new lines of cables with about 25 km and erect new electric cabins to supply the people.

The mayor of Tirana said that there have been fruitful results also regarding the flour and bread industry. All the existing factories were repaired, five small bread factories were erected and another three ones are being completed. Urbanists are thinking of the sites of another five bread factories, also intending their privatization. Meanwhile the new flour factory provided by Turkey has began to be installed.

Regarding privatization rates in the capital, Mr. Kelmendi said that over 1992 the number of private projects rapidly increased. In January 1992 the number of private projects was about 4,000, whereas by the end of the year it amounted to 9,000. The considerable increase of the number of foreign project, from 142 to 321 is worth mentioning. Joint companies with foreign capital also have increased in number. During the current year other state enterprises and sectors will be privatized.

Turkey's Ayaz Avows 'No Hostile Intentions'

TA1203145293 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1420 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 12, (AA)—Turkish Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz said on Friday that Turkey has no hostile intentions towards any Balkan country but wants to end the bloodshed in strife-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Addressing a joint news conference with his Bulgarian counterpart, Valentin Aleksandrov, Ayaz said Turkey would not necessarily take part in any intervention in Bosnia if the United Nations decides to intervene.

He warned however that unless the United Nations takes an effective decision "the fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina may leap to other countries in the Balkans."

Ayaz explained that Turkey, as a Balkan country, is not set on direct intervention, but the fact that 200,000 people have been killed, 30,000 women raped, and 1.5 million people left homeless was sufficient reason for the United Nations to take immediate action.

He added that the creation of hostile blocs in the Balkans would serve no purpose in the interest of any country in the region.

Zhelev, Ayaz Have 'Shared Views'

AU1203143393 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov of Bulgaria and his Turkish counterpart Nevzat Ayaz met with the press before the Turkish delegation, which made a three-day official visit here, left this country.

The Turkish delegation was invited by Mr. Aleksandrov. Yesterday the two ministers signed a five-year agreement on scientific and technological cooperation in the military area. Mr. Ayaz was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. This was the first visit by a Turkish defence minister in 100 years.

Bulgarian Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov sees the agreement signed yesterday as the latest step in the upward development of Bulgarian-Turkish military and political relations over the last two years. According to him, the agreement finalizes the legal framework of relations between the Bulgarian and the Turkish Armed Forces. It is the logical continuation of the Sofia Document of 1991 and the Edirne Document of 1992 signed by the chiefs of General Staff of the two armies, Mr. Aleksandrov says. The specific results in the military field create a basis to promote military cooperation as well as interaction within the framework of NATO, which is especially important for Bulgaria, he stressed. According to him, good military contacts between the two countries have a positive impact on the Balkans. "Mr. Ayaz and I also discussed ways to reduce military presence on both sides of the common border," Mr. Aleksandrov said.

According to Mr. Ayaz, the agreement on military and technological cooperation opens up prospects to cooperate in the military, technological and industrial areas, setting the legal basis of cooperation.

At the news conference Mr. Ayaz reiterated Turkey's position on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, saying that more decisive steps should be taken to stop the bloodshed. President Zhelyu Zhelev and I discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia and the human tragedy in Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday, Mr. Ayaz said, and I am pleased that we expressed shared views. Nevzat Ayaz stressed that Turkey is ready to join a UN peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and Hercegovina, if invited. This, in his view, should not be taken as interference but as help from a well-wishing neighbour. He said Turkey had no border problems with Bulgaria. Turkey and Greece do have long-standing problems, for which Greece is responsible, said Mr. Ayaz, but relations between Turkey and Greece have no bearing on Turkey's relations with the other Balkan countries.

The first meeting of a Bulgarian-Turkish Commission for Cooperation in Military Technology was held yesterday, it was said at the news conference. It was decided to set up working committees on different aspects of cooperation.

Finance Minister on Upcoming Talks With IMF

AU1303173293 Sofia BTA in English 2210 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—At the forthcoming negotiations with the International Monetary Fund we will defend the same position we defended in Washington, i.e. we will insist on a budget deficit of 8 percent, Bulgarian Minister of Finance Stoyan Aleksandrov said in an interview for the Repercussions Programme of the National Television this evening. He was invited to comment on the negotiations with the IMF mission which open in Sofia on Monday. We will not accept the IMF conditions if they do not correspond to our interests and to reality, he said.

According to Finance Minister Aleksandrov, in proposing the deficit stress is laid on structural reform spending and not on income-increase expenditure.

We will try to defend our figures, but if the mission refuses to accept our proposal we will either not be able to reach an agreement or we will have to find ways and cut projected spending, Minister Aleksandrov said. In his view, if the government fails to defend the budget deficit, each percentage of reduction would mean cutting expenditure by about 3,500 million leva.

Finance Minister Aleksandrov pointed out that if the requirements presented by the separate ministries were granted, the 8-percent budget deficit projected by the government would be exceeded by 54,000 million leva.

Commenting on his statement after the negotiations recently held with the London Club in Frankfurt when he said that Bulgaria could suspend the payment of interest to the creditor banks if there was no change in their tough position, Minister Aleksandrov explained that the Bulgarian Parliament had adopted a decision on the payment of 20 percent of current interest provided the negotiations with the creditor banks made some progress.

The talks were frozen for a long time in result of the cabinet crisis in Bulgaria and for some other reasons, the latest proposal made by the London Club in December last year is worse than the one we were made in August, Minister Aleksandrov said.

The question is open and, depending on the outcome of the forthcoming negotiations, Bulgaria could pay the interest if a feasible agreement is reached, he said.

IMF Mission Chief Arrives in Sofia

AU1303181193 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Russel Kincaid, chief of the IMF mission to Bulgaria, arrived in Sofia today. The next negotiating round between Bulgaria and the IMF starts on Monday [15 March]. On Friday, IMF experts held talks with Finance Ministry and National Bank officials.

Upon his arrival, Mr. Kincaid told the press he expected constructive, open talks. He said he had a mandate to sign an agreement but it would depend on the outcome of the talks. Mr. Kincaid stressed he would not make assessments before he discussed the cabinet's economic programme and structural changes in this country.

On Thursday [11 March] the government discussed the draft budget. The Bulgarian side will stand up for a budget deficit amounting to 7.9 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product]. The budget parameters may have to be reviewed if the IMF proposes a 6.9 or 5 percent budget deficit.

Unions Protest Against Berov Cabinet

AU1303173393 Sofia BTA in English 2224 GMT 12 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Today President Zhelyu Zhelev is visiting the region of Shumen. [passage omitted]

National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov received Ambassador Extraordinary and Envoy Plenipotentiary Manfred Kiepach of Austria who is leaving Bulgaria shortly.

Today an indictment against former Bulgarian head of state Todor Zhivkov was submitted to the Supreme Court in connection with the so-called Moscow Fund case of granting financial aid totalling 22.5 million currency leva to communist parties and regimes for 30 years at the expense of the public purse. Some time ago the head of the prosecuting magistrates told BTA that the funds, exchanged for dollars, used to be given to the Soviet ambassadors in Sofia who sent them to Moscow. Last year Todor Zhivkov was convicted and received a term of seven years on charges of having exceeded his rights as a head of state for his own benefit and for the benefit of third persons appropriating 26 million leva. Investigation proceedings have been initiated against Todor Zhivkov in connection with several other cases.

The president of the Supreme Court's Military Division, Colonel Nikolay Chiripov, set the date for the hearing of the case of the forced labour camps at Lovech and Skravena where the communist regime used to send its political opponents on May 4, 1993. Jurors of general's rank have been invited, including Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army.

The Workers Free Trade Union at the biggest refineries in Bulgaria, Neftokhim-Burgas (eastern Bulgaria), issued a declaration demanding the resignation of Minister of Industry Rumen Bikov. The declaration is addressed to parliament, the presidency and the government. Two days ago the Workers Free Trade Union declared one-hour effective strike actions. The protesters insist that the economic independence of the refinery be preserved and that the jobs of all workers at it be guaranteed. According to the Neftokhim workers, they are protesting against the intention of the government, inspired by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, to deprive the enterprise of its financial independence. Some new social and economic demands were added in today's declaration. If a procedure for meeting the workers' demands is not opened by March 19, they will go on effective strike and the refinery may stop working, the declaration says.

A meeting was opened in Sofia today to discuss the problems of privatization in Bulgaria. It is organized by the Privatization Agency. The purpose of the meeting is to pinpoint the major problems hindering the start and progress of privatization. The participants will also consider the imperfection of the legal framework of privatization, the financial problems of enterprises and the inability of Bulgarian citizens to take part in privatization. Representatives of the parliamentary groups, the Presidency, the government, banks, trade unions and public organizations have been invited to attend the meeting. [passage omitted]

The first portion of the humanitarian aid for the Bulgarian population in the Dniester area, provided by the Bulgarian Government, arrived in the Moldovan capital Kishinev [Chisinau] today.

The National Trade Union (NTU) and the Association of Democratic Trade Unions (ADTU) will declare strike

against the antisocial policy of Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet on March 22, it was announced at today's rally of the NTU, ADTU and the city organization of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in Sofia.

According to an analysis of the Economic Research Institute published in the Austrian DIE PRESSE, Bulgaria is in the most disadvantageous foreign economic position of the East European countries. Its external debt rose from 9,100 million dollars at the end of 1989 to 12,900 million at the end of 1992; about 1,800 million are state-guaranteed loans, the rest is mainly non-guaranteed bank loans, BTA's correspondent Tsvetana Delibaltova reported.

SDS National Coordinating Council Chairman Filip Dimitrov expressed his regret over the conflict between the president and the SDS which, in his opinion, was bad for the state and served as a signal for attack against the SDS government. Interviewed for Radio Free Europe, ex-Prime Minister Dimitrov said that the political responsibility for the conflict lies with the President.

'Hooligans' Attack BSP Headquarters in Sofia

AU1303190693 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist, ex-Communist, Party (BSP) in Sofia were attacked by hooligans last night.

Krasimir Premyanov, deputy floor leader of the parliamentary BSP, told a BTA reporter today the attackers were a "group of tough youngsters." They rushed into the BSP central club at 20 Pozitano Street, broke the windows and beat members of the Socialist Youth Federation.

There is no official information on the perpetrators, who ran away before the police came. The incident is being investigated.

Channel Two of Bulgarian Television said the attackers had shouted fascist slogans and drawn swastikas on the BSP headquarters.

In a statement for BTA, Krasimir Premyanov said similar conduct had already been observed in supporters of certain political forces, mostly of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Environmental Reasons Cited for Temelin Approval

AU1203131793 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Government discussions on whether to complete the plant, whose construction began in 1986, had been going on for nearly a year. After studying various proposals for supplying the region with electrical energy, ministers in Premier Vaclav Klaus' cabinet issued a recommendation on February 16 to complete the plant. The four parties making up the governing coalition also met on the same day and agreed that no fundamental arguments had been made to rationalize halting work at the nuclear power plant.

Klaus, reminded legislators on February 25 of the government's plan to shut down coal-burning power plants in northern Bohemia, which significantly contribute to air pollution in the Czech Republic. He said Temelin needed to be backed as an alternative source of energy.

According to Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, putting Temelin on line while shutting down polluting coal-fired plants could cut sulfur oxide emissions by 10 percent overall and as much as 23 percent in northern Bohemia. The main investors in Temelin, Ceske Energeticke Zavody, estimate that the plant, with an output of 2,000 megawatts, will save 12 million tonnes of coal annually.

Environmental groups both in the Czech Republic and abroad have campaigned against Temelin's operation. They say making existing plants more efficient as well as cutting down on waste would eliminate the need for putting the nuclear power plant on line. Austrian environmentalists charge that the basic reactor, constructed according to Soviet plans, does not meet Western safety standards. The united states has provided 300 million dollars in loans to install additional safety features, to be supplied by the American firm Westinghouse. The Austrian government has strongly protested this act, calling it an unfriendly act on the part of the United States towards Austria.

Klaus told a press conference that all 18 ministers in the government had voted in favor of Temelin, with the exception of Environmental Minister Frantisek Benda, who abstained.

The government has charged Dlouhy and Benda with drafting a law on state control over the safety of atomic power plants. Klaus said he expected such a draft by the end of the month. Dlouhy will have until June 30 to come up with a plan for storing spent reactor fuel produced by the future plant.

Environmental Groups Stage Protest

AU1203142893 Prague CTK in English 1306 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—About 30 activists from the environmental groups Children of the Earth, Mothers of South Bohemia, and Duha today staged a demonstration in front of the Czech Government building to protest completion of the nuclear power plant in Temelin, south Bohemia.

The government discussed and voted today to approve completion of the plant.

While demonstrators held up signs reading Temelin Chernobyl, about us, without us, and other slogans, Children of the Earth spokesman Jindrich Petrlik distributed a letter to arriving members of the government, in which ecologists warned against Temelin's completion. The letter says that Temelin is not the least expensive and most ecologically sound alternative for the further development of Czech energy production, and that the limiting and closing of thermal power plants is possible even without nuclear energy.

Austrian Parties Protest Decision

AU1203142993 Prague CTK in English 2046 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Vienna March 10 (CTK correspondent)—Reaction in Austria to the Czech Government's decision to complete construction of the Temelin nuclear power plant was swift and negative today.

Criticism was strongest on the part of opposition parties, while the ruling Social Democratic Party of Austria expressed its dissapproval in more muted tones. The spokesman for the Free Party of Austria, Peter Rosenstingl, said the hour of truth had arrived and added that this would be a test for Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, who he said had promised a nuclear free Central Europe both in his electoral campaign and since gaining office.

Rudi Anschober, speaking for the Greens, accused the American Westinghouse corporation, which is to upgrade the power plant and supply its nuclear fuel of wanting to turn the Czech Republic into a nuclear colony.

Josef Cap, on behalf of the ruling social democrats, reminded opposition parties that the Czech Republic is a sovereign state, though he stressed that Austria, whose own constitution forbids the use of nuclear power, would continue to encourage the nuclear Czech Republic to turn to other sources of electrical energy.

World Bank Cannot Prevent Temelin

LD1203233993 Prague CTK in English 2258 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told CTK today that he rejects the opinion of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, who said on Austrian Radio Thursday that the World Bank could prevent the completion of the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia.

I don't understand why or how the World Bank could prevent the completion of Temelin, Klaus said. We are members of the bank just like Austria. And that the World Bank would want to block something like this is

sheer nonsense, Klaus said before today's meeting of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in Vsetin, North Moravia. He was reacting to Vranitzsky's objection to the Czech government's decision to complete the Temelin power plant, which is located near the Austrian border.

Vranitzsky said that the Czech government received offers to convert Temelin into a gas power installation, but did not take the fears of hundreds of thousands of people seriously. He also stressed international reservations, especially from the World Bank, which he said had cautioned the Czech Republic against the completion of Temelin as a nuclear power plant.

The Austrian government also offered its experts to advise on several of these matters, but there are a great deal of such advisory experts here, Klaus said.

Communist Party Chairman Jiri Svoboda Resigns

AU1203131193 Prague CTK in English 0943 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—Chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Jiri Svoboda today announced his intention to resign his position as chairman as of March 12.

Svoboda, elected KSCM chairman in October 1990, explained his decision to resign by the Central Committee's failure on Saturday [6 March] to support his proposal to change the party's name to the Party of Democratic Socialism.

He said the current Central Committee resembled the pre-November 1989 Central Committee which had been incapable of any constructive action.

Svoboda was also critical of the group of deputies from the Left Bloc, made up of the KSCM and the Democratic Left Movement, who had not supported the proposal to change the party's name.

On Tuesday, Svoboda's close aide Josef Mecl, a member of the Executive Committee, told CTK he would propose to the committee on Thursday not to accept Svoboda's resignation.

But Svoboda rejected this and said: It is impossible not to accept my resignation. I have been carrying out the function of chairman voluntarily.

He said he would not found any new party, but would remain a rank-and-file member of the KSCM until pre-November 1989 people, who had caused the party's failure, begin to appear in its leadership.

Svoboda believes that a parliament deputy should be nominated for the post of the chairman of the KSCM, the second strongest party in the June 1992 elections.

The Left Bloc has 35 seats in the 200-seat chamber of deputies of the Czech parliament. The strongest Civic Democratic Party (ODS) of Premier Vaclav Klaus has 66 seats.

Svoboda admitted partial responsibility for the current situation in the party. I should have acted more radically, he said on the establishment in January of the For Socialism faction headed by pre-November 1989 Prague communist chief Miroslav Stepan. and on Stepan's admission to the party last year.

Stepan was expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in 1990.

But Svoboda said he was still optimistic about the party's transformation. I believe that the party has a chance (to be transformed) and that it will make use of it, he stressed.

He told journalists that he had sent letters to about 30 Czech and Slovak politicians, including the Czech and Slovak Presidents, Vaclav Havel and Michal Kovac, announcing his resignation.

Svoboda regretted that people like former Czech Premier Petr Pithart and former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier have disappeared from the political scene.

Politicians Regret Resignation

AU1203131493 Prague CTK in English 1312 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—Representatives of the Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN) told journalists today they believe that the announced resignation of Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), confirms that the Communist Party cannot be reformed.

Milan Hulik of the KAN said that Svoboda's fate is the lot of intellectual dreamers within the KSCM. Unlike his predecessors, however, Svoboda did not end at the scaffold but has merely stepped down, he added.

KAN spokesman Albert Prouza compared the KSCM's activities after the November 1989 revolution to a hypothetical situation of Hitler's National Socialist Party slightly changing its regulations after World War II and declaring itself a democratic party. He said that the Communist Party does not belong on the political scene of a democratic society.

Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Liberal Social Union (LSU) coalition, told journalists today that Svoboda's resignation is an internal affair of the KSCM. We will not even comment on it, LSU deputy chairman Ladislav Dvorak added.

KSCM Deputy Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek told CTK he regretted the resignation of Svoboda who had been very close to him.

Grebenicek, who will probably be charged with representing the party's chairman, said he did not think Svoboda's resignation would end the process of KSCM transformation.

He was very surprised by the For Socialism faction statement today that it would not object to his becoming the head of the party.

Earlier today spokesman for the faction Vaclav Papez said: Comrade Grebenicek is deputy chairman, so why couldn't he remain at the head of the party? We will certainly respect him.

The faction was founded in January by pre-November 1989 Prague's communist leader Miroslav Stepan, who was expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in 1990, but was admitted to the KSCM last autumn.

Commenting on Svoboda's resignation, Papez said this is not the way for a politician to follow.

The Democratic Left (DL) of the Czech Republic, which forms the Left Bloc with the KSCM, warned against the KSCM seeking again and finding an enemy inside the party. He is nobody else but Jiri Svoboda.

In a statement passed to CTK, the DL said that some people in the KSCM were speaking again about ideological purity in the name of which trials of communists as well as non-communists were staged in the past.

It is a tragedy that by their stands, this group of KSCM members are defending their crooked political past and slowing down the formation of a left which would be accepted by society as an equal partner, the statement said.

Deputy chairman of the non-parliamentary Democratic Party of Labor (DSP) Michal Kraus today called on the Czech Communist Party's reform wing to join the effort to build a broad left-wing bloc.

In connection with Svoboda's resignation, he indirectly called on the defeated politicians from the KSCM to enter the DSP. But the party's chairman Petr Wurm declined to comment on this. The DSP seeks the formation of a broad left-wing bloc encompassing reform communists, the greens, socialists, centrists and others, Wurm said.

He himself is in favor of the DSP's integration with the Czech Social Democratic Party led by Milos Zeman. But the question must be decided by the party's congress, he added.

Deputy chairman of the non-parliamentary Civic Movement (OH) Martin Bursik told CTK that Svoboda had missed the opportunity to transform the KSCM into a left-wing party as Peter Weiss had done in Slovakia.

Weiss has remade the former Communist Party of Slovakia into the Democratic Left Party (SDL).

Bursik said that Svoboda's resignation would strengthen the conservative forces in the KSCM.

Communist Faction Calls For More Activity

AU1203131093 Prague CTK in English 2157 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—The For Socialism faction within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) today called on the party membership to increase their activity to prevent further impoverishing of a majority of our nation through constitutional ways.

A letter from the faction, signed by Miroslav Stepan, Jaromir Obzina, and others, was passed to CTK by the faction's spokesman Vaclav Papez.

The For Socialism faction wants the KSCM to take a clear stand on the necessity to gradually remove the mass wrongs committed over the past three years in the sphere of social policy and standards of living.

Our aim is to prevent further strengthening of the policy of social cynicism, unprecedented in our country throughout the 20th century, Papez said.

The faction calls for a modification of the economic reforms to bring the standards of living of all people to the level of 1989 at least.

The letter also calls for freezing the prices of energy, fuels, daily essentials and water, and of housing rents.

In the social field, the faction demands full free health care and free education, and enactment of the right to work.

The for socialism faction was founded in January by Stepan, pre-November 1989 Prague communist leader, and pre-November Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina.

The letter was made public on the day when KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda announced his resignation after the party's central committee failed on Saturday to support his proposal to rename the party as the Party of Democratic Socialism. The renaming was intended as part of the party's transformation into a modern left-wing party.

At a press conference today, Svoboda admitted his portion of responsibility for the current situation in the party. I should have acted more radically, he said on the establishment of the For Socialism faction and on Stepan's admission to the party last year.

Stepan was expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in 1990.

Trade Complicating Czech-Slovak Relations

LD1203233393 Prague CTK in English 2255 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Vsetin, North Moravia, March 12 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today that the complicating situation with Slovakia is not caused by border crossings but by declining trade turnover.

Slovakia is in a difficult situation, which is no cause for rejoicing, Klaus said, noting that far less money flow to Slovakia from the Czech Republic now than in previous years. I do not envy Slovak politicians, Klaus added.

Slovakia's losses are higher than expected by Slovak economists, he said, and added that Slovakia will not be able to buy the same amount of goods in the Czech Republic as last year. He said that in the past the Czech Republic's annual exports to Slovakia used to be 16 to 17 billion crowns (up to 600 million USD) higher than Slovakia's exports to the Czech Republic.

Parliament Chairman Assesses Visit to Austria

LD1203180593 Prague CTK in English 1615 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Vienna March 12 (CTK correspondent)—Agreements on cooperation between the Czech and Austrian parliamentary Foreign Relations Committees and their joint preparation of positions on the European level, for instance in the Council of Europe, were the most significant results of the Czech parliamentary delegation's two-day visit here, said Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde.

Uhde was asked at today's press conference about the Austrian reaction to the Czech government's decision to complete construction on the Temelin nuclear power plant, located near the Austrian border in South Bohemia. We did not expect that the decision on Temelin, which was made on the day of our arrival, would be welcomed by the Austrian public and government officials, said Uhde. It is usual between neighbours that things happen which raise certain criticisms. I think that "the art of being neighbours" includes the ability to rise above a situation like this.

Uhde said that the Czech delegation explained to the Austrians that the Temelin decision was not a matter of choosing from two or three different possibilities, but that there was only one realistic possibility from economic, security and financial viewpoints. No one in the Czech government is an admirer of nuclear energy, he added.

Regarding Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's criticism of measures the Czech Republic is preparing to implement on the Czech-Slovak border and their possible impact on discussions of the Visegrad group (comprised of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland) free trade zone, Uhde said that a possible retreat from the free trade zone is risky and restricts member countries' natural economic contacts with other European states.

Mr. Meciar certainly has the right to say what he wants, Uhde said. Heightened supervision of the border between the Czech and Slovak republics is something that he doesn't have to like and certainly doesn't like. It is, however, in the interests of the Czech Republic and its inhabitants, economy and internal conditions, and the Czech Republic has every right to take unilateral measures of this type, if it considers them appropriate. We do not need Slovak cooperation in this, he said.

President Havel Arrives in Austria on Visit

LD1503103293 Prague CTK in English 1006 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Vienna March 15 (CTK correspondent)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today arrived for a three-day official visit to Austria. He was met at Schwechat Airport by Austrian President Thomas Klestil. The two presidents will hold talks later today. This afternoon, Havel will meet with president of the Nationalrat Heinz Fischer. At Vienna University, Havel will deliver a lecture on the Czech Republic and Austria—new chances and responsibilities.

Unemployment Falls to 2.97 Percent in February

LD1203162993 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—The unemployment rate in the Czech Republic fell to 2.97 per cent in February 1993, from 3.01 per cent the previous month, a spokesman for the Czech Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs told CTK today.

Unemployment offices across the republic registered 156,176 persons seeking work in February, the ministry reported.

The rate in the last few months of 1992 hovered between 2.4 and 2.6 per cent. The highest rate was registered in January 1992, when 231,000 workers were listed jobless. By December 1992, their numbers dropped to 135,000.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus has said he expects a rise in the unemployment rate, up to five per cent, as a result of envisaged bankruptcies.

Sedivy Becomes UNESECO Representative

LD1203225093 Prague CTK in English 2203 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Paris March 12 (CTK)—The Czech Republic's Ambassador to France, Jaroslav Sedivy, today also became Prague's permanent representative at the United Nations' Organisation for Education and Scientific Cooperaion, UNESCO.

Sedivy, who presented his credentials to UNESCO Director-General Frederico Mayor Zaragoza, said the Czech Republic would do all in its power to fulfil the noble ideals and aims contained in the UNESCO charter.

Letter to EC Decries Hungary's Gabcikovo Stance

LD1203230193 Prague CTK in English 2245 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 12 (CTK)—Hungary would contribute to resolving the conflict between Slovakia and Hungary over the Gabcikovo dam project on both countries' joint border, by annulling a motion by its parliament that only allows Budapest to negotiate with Bratislava over the dam's liquidation and the restoration of the countryside to its original state, Slovak Parliament Chair Ivan Gasparovic wrote today in a letter to the head of the European Community Commission, Egon Klepsch.

Relations between Hungary and Slovakia have become tense over the last few months since Bratislava's determination to finish construction of the dam, begun by Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia in 1977. Hungary has since stopped construction on its part of the dam and fears Slovakia will alter the course of the Danube, which forms the border between Slovakia and Hungary, and cause damage to the environment. The matter is now to be passed to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Slovak television reported today that Gasparovic's letter is a reaction to a February 24 declaration made by the Hungarian parliament to United Nations members, which, according to Gasparovic, misrepresents the dispute and accuses Slovakia of violating Hungary's territorial integrity. I am obliged to inform the international community that the territorial integrity of the Hungarian Republic was in no way touched and that the state border between our two republics was not altered, Gasparovic wrote.

He added that returning the countryside to its original state, as demanded by Budapest, was impossible, according to experts, and could even mean an ecological catastrophe. Gasparovic stressed that Hungary had unilaterally and unlawfully renounced the 1977 agreement binding the two sides to building the dam.

Meciar: $700 Million Needed To Stabilize Currency

LD1403182493 Prague CTK in English 1809 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 14 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today said on Slovak television that if the Slovak crown is devaluated retail prices would rise by 54 per cent and the value of state property currently totalling 600 billion Slovak crowns (20 billion USD) would be reduced by half.

He said that Slovakia needs from 500 to 700 million USD to preserve the stability of its currency and hard currency reserves.

Jozef Kollar, commercial director of Lidova Banka (People's Bank), said that diminishing hard currency reserves in the Slovak republic were caused by the division of assets and liabilities of the former Czechoslovak State Bank between the National Banks of the two republics, during which the Slovak National Bank has received 780 million USD out of the 2 billion USD.

Kollar said that devaluation of the Slovak crown would lead to economic collapse as the demand for hard currency on the part of businessmen and companies would not diminish.

He said that Slovak National Bank's hard currency reserves ought to be increased by 200 to 300 million USD to maintain the Slovak crown's current exchange rate towards USD. Let the bank's vice governors get on a plane and let them not come back before they fly around the planet five times, visit world banks and bring these millions, he said.

Referring to the possibility of the introduction of a neutral monetary policy to substitute the current restrictive one, Kollar said that if the gross national product drops this year by 6 to 10 per cent and the inflation rate tops 14 to 17 per cent such a neutral monetary policy, given the same money circulation, would merely mean the necessity of issuing more and more money.

Meciar said that insolvency of Slovak enterprises amounts to at least 60 billion Slovak crowns (2 billion USD) and that the debt of the Slovak National Fund is 15 billion Slovak crowns (300 million USD).

Toth Informs Deputies of Budget Results

AU1303211093 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 11 Mar 93 p 2

[Lenka Tokarova report: "The Government Is Regulating Its Expenditure"]

[Text] The Slovak state budget executed by the Treasury last year amounted to 7.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. However, this does not include the Sk2.5 billion worth of unsold bonds issued to finance the construction of the Gabcikovo water project. Another Sk2.8 billion are accounted for by the pension increases not included in the 1992 budget. The Slovak Government considers Sk5.4 billion to be the overall state budget deficit for last year. The exact size of the deficit will be known next month when the federal budget has been concluded.

Members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] Economic and Budget Committee were briefed on the Slovak Republic's balance of trade figures for January at a meeting held yesterday. The report was delivered by Finance Minister Julius Toth. According to him, the revenue aspect of the budget amounts to Sk7 billion and the expenditure aspect amounts to Sk8.5 billion. This means that at the end of the first month of the year the state budget recorded a deficit of Sk1.5 billion. As far as revenue is concerned, value-added tax amounted to Sk10 million and income tax from individual persons—which replaced employment income tax

and was complied with at a rate of 24.5 percent—amounted to Sk0.5 billion. The government thinks the reason legal entities and individual persons did not comply with their tax obligations—amounting to 0.5 percent of monthly receipts—is due to insolvency. Funds for health and retirement insurance in the state budget amount to Sk275 million.

Expenditure from the state budget in January amounted to Sk8.5 billion, that is, 5.4 percent of the overall annual budget. According to Toth, in comparison to the aliquot monthly quota from the annual budget, state budget expenditure this month was Sk4.7 billion lower. The government—proceeding from the 1992 budget, when the state budget deficit amounted to Sk7.9 billion, and regarding the high level of uncertainty in providing for the revenue and expenditure part of the budget in January—has introduced the differentiated regulation of expenditure. The highest amount in the January budget—7.1 percent—is accounted for by noninvestment expenditure in the budget sphere and by providing social allowances and payments, which amounted to Sk3.4 billion. An interesting situation has arisen regarding paying the state compensatory allowance [SVP]; it was calculated for January and February at Sk1 billion and Sk375 million was drawn from it in January. In reply to a question from HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on where the problem lies in paying the SVP since the sum laid aside was not completely exhausted, Minister Toth said:

"A sum of Sk1 billion, and nothing more, has been earmarked for paying the SVP from the state budget. When we were compiling the state budget, we took into consideration the fact that as of 1 April all the social allowances will be reassessed and, on the basis of this reassessment, will be restructured."

The revenue part of the state budget, proceeding from the funds generated in January, amounts to Sk1.1 billion. Minister Toth said it has an increasing tendency. The reason for the delay is—for example—value-added tax and the enterprises that always process their economic balance as of the 15th of the succeeding month. In his opinion, tax evasion is negligible. The supplement to the tax returns amounts to Sk1.5 billion.

A key question for members of the NR SR Economic and Budget Committee will be administration of the Federation's state closing account, which should be approved by the NR SR.

HZDS Conference Opens; Journalists Barred

LD1303203093 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 13 (CTK)—All journalists, save for the Slovak state news agency representative were barred from covering today's conference of Slovakia's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia's (HZDS) leadership in Lucenec, central Slovakia.

The journalists, mostly from the Czech Republic, were expelled from the talks with the explanation that as foreign press representatives, they had no place at internal affair of the HZDS.

A HZDS press spokesman said all coverage of the conference would be assured by the official Slovak news agency (TA SR). Today's meeting of the HZDS leadership is scheduled to deal with personnel changes in the government as well discuss the movement's economic development programme for Slovakia. HZDS leader and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has also asked that he be dispensed from his obligation to keep silent over his feud with Movement Deputy Chairman and Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko.

Knazko, speaking to journalists outside the meeting, said that although a reshuffle among the HZDS leadership was not on the agenda, he expected such a move to be discussed.

Antall Receives Meeting Proposal From Meciar

LD1203134893 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest March 12 (CTK correspondent)—Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall on Thursday received through diplomatic channels a letter from his Slovak counterpart Vladimir Meciar proposing him to meet, the Hungarian Government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told CTK in Budapest today.

The talks should concentrate mainly on the controversial Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube and other topical issues of Slovak-Hungarian relations. The Hungarian Government will respond to Meciar's letter later, said the spokeswoman.

Hungary and Slovakia need particularly negotiate a request to the International Court of Justice in The Hague to settle their dispute about a temporary water regime on the Danube. A compromise suggestion on it made by the European Communities has been accepted by Budapest but not by Bratislava.

The European Community Commission President Jacques Delors stressed in his letter to Antall at the beginning of the week that only a political decision on the top level can be a way out of the impasse in which the Gabcikovo issue has ended up. Budapest has pointed out that it has already made a decision by accepting the European Community compromise proposal and that it is awaiting Bratislava's decision.

Hungary maintains that there is no use meeting with Meciar and discussing the Gabcikovo issue and other problems of Slovak-Hungarian relations before Bratislava's decision is made.

President Goncz Remarks on Hungarian Press Day

LD1203183093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Some 145 years ago the concept of freedom of the press meant something different than today; however, censors are not necessary now either. This was the theme of the speech of the president of the Republic, delivered on Hungarian Press Day, at a reception given by the press trade union. Andras Svaby reports;

[Svaby] The 12 points of March [demands of the revolutionists in 1848] determine our freedom requirements for ever, and the most important of them is the definition of freedom of the press, stated Arpad Goncz during his festive speech. However, the press of that time is different compared to the press of today, added the president.

[Begin Goncz recording] Since the information revolution and electronics entered the sphere of the press, since we are aware that hidden persuasion also has its methods, since we know that not only the beauty of women but politics can also be advertised, and since we know that there is such a thing as over advertising, we also know that the freedom of the press must somehow go hand in hand with its self-restraint. I repeat and stress, self-restraint, and not with outside restriction. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Svaby] The president of the republic called attention to the fact that next year's election and the campaign prior to it places incredible responsibility on the press. As he said, at the last election the no was unequivocal vis-a-vis the past regime, but this election will be a lot more complicated than that.

[Begin Goncz recording] It is in our mutual interest that from this election, not individual parties should come out victorious, but the country, and that this upcoming election fight should not become the night of the long knives, and that Hungarian politics should not discredit itself, for the possibility is there. If the election campaign degenerates, politics will discredit itself as a whole. [end recording]

[Svaby] This not happening depends largely on the press, the president said. The most important task for journalists is to convince people to go to the ballot boxes in 1994.

[Begin Goncz recording] The people must not allow the spirit of the election, regardless of their party affiliation and their ideology, to run away with them and to allow tempers to flare. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Interview With Turkish Foreign Minister Cetin

LD1403141093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Interview with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin by Judit Horvath in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Our colleague Judit Horvath asked Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, who was visiting Budapest, what the reason is for Turkey's special interest in Balkan affairs.

[Begin recording] [Cetin, in Turkish with superimposed translation into Hungarian] Let us not forget that Turkey was founded after the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, many Balkan circumstances have relevance in Turkey. For example, we have at least 2 million citizens of Bosnian origin. The majority of our Bosnians are connected to Bosnia-Hercegovina with family and friendship relations. Turkey, as a democratic state, cannot ignore the expectations of its Bosnian citizens. Finally, let us not forget the fact that if the world is unable to prevent the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the events could spread to Kosovo, Vojvodina, Sanjak, and also to Macedonia. If this comes about, not only this region but the entire world will come face to face with a Balkan war. Turkey tries to develop closer cooperation with the Balkan states in order to avoid all this.

[Horvath] As you have mentioned the imperial roots, some people are afraid that the Osmans will return.

[Cetin] This is a total fantasy. Turkey is developing by preserving its own territorial integrity. With its population of 60 million, it is a big state in the region anyway. Turkey, just as it strives for peace and calm within its borders, seeks peace in its surroundings and in the entire world as well. Turkey is against the forceful alteration of borders; this, at the same time, is its basic principle.

[Horvath] Since the Istanbul conference, at every international forum Turkey urges limited military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina with the leadership of the world organization. You also talked about this during your talks in Budapest. Aren't they afraid in Ankara that this step may lead to a Balkan war?

[Cetin] Well, what should we do? Should we be sitting with folded arms? We say that the United Nations should be able to order a limited military intervention in such a situation. The necessary message has to be sent to Belgrade in a language that it understands. Turkey says that if such a decision is made and if Turkey's participation should be requested, it will be ready to supply military force for this. Events of the past 10 months vindicate the Turkish stance. Since Belgrade did not receive such a message, the bloodshed continues. Turkey does not urge limited military intervention because it wants war. Turkey is a peace-loving country, but its opinion is that sometimes, especially in the interest of peace, there is a need to use force.

[Horvath] Mr. Minister, Turkey has been supporting the Bosnians, that is the Muslims, since the start of the Bosnian fight. But Tehran also endeavors to do the same. It seems as if Turkey would be competing with Iran.

[Cetin] Not at all. First of all, Turkey does not perceive the issue as a religious problem. For it does not matter what kind of language is spoken by the people dying by the hundreds every day, and by the suffering women and children, or what kind of religion is followed by them. That is, Turkey considers the matter as a humanitarian issue. The matter must not be allowed to degenerate into a religious war.

At the same time, it is also true that it is the Bosnians who suffer the most from the war atrocities. [passage omitted] If we do not stand up against this in the appropriate manner, the question will arise: Does the world stand idly by because these people are Muslims? This is delusion.

With regard to giving support, Turkey was never guided by religious concerns. We also sent humanitarian aid to Armenia; that is, if it is about the suffering people of a neighboring country, we consider the people and not their belonging to a nation or religion.

[Horvath] If there is no question of Islamic solidarity in the case of Turkey, how do you explain the news that Turkish Muslim organizations sent volunteers to Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Cetin] I do not think that a considerable number of volunteers went from Turkey. But it is possible, since, as I already mentioned, we have 2 million fellow Bosnian countrymen. Probably some of them went to Bosnia to help their relatives and their friends, but this is not a government policy.

[Horvath] But there are Islamic organizations in Turkey too. Furthermore, Islamic terrorism has also appeared. A famous journalist was murdered not long ago. Apparently the lines of the assassination lead to a Hizballah Turkish organization directed from Iran.

[Cetin] I was deeply shocked by the death of Ugur Muncu, since more than 30 years of friendship connected me to him. [passage omitted] I think this murder was not the act of Islamic terrorism, as opposed to the earlier murders of writers and journalists. Despite this I feel that the Islamic extremists do not threaten the democratic and secular state order of Turkey. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Meets With French Official

LD1203173193 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky met French minister delegate attached to the minister for foreign affairs Georges Kiejman on Friday.

Kiejman said the aim of his visit to Hungary was to strengthen France's commitment to dialogue and cooperation with Hungary. He spoke appreciatively of Hungary's balanced policies, which, he said, had a moderating effect on the region, and of Hungary's minority bill as an example for other countries.

Jeszenszky informed Kiejman of Hungarian endeavours related to the CSCE, NATO, the EC and the Western European Union. He praised France's role in Central European transformation processes, hoping for a continued French presence in the region.

The politicians discussed the South Slav crisis in detail, and Kiejman informed Jeszenszky about a meeting attended by Vance, Owen and Milosevic in Paris on March 11.

Deep Unease Over DPRK Decision

LD1303191393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Poland's minister of foreign affairs has issued a statement expressing its deep unease at the decision announced yesterday by the DPRK to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation pact. This is a step which, could have serious and damaging consequences for security, both on a regional and a global scale. It threatens attempts at a peaceful regulation of litigious problems between the two Korean states.

Walesa Seeks More Contact With Foreign Politicians

LD1203202893 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—I wish to show Europe that, in this shipyard, in this city, in this region, there are strong social forces, and that I attach great weight, not only to political, but also to economic contacts, President Lech Walesa said on Friday in Gdansk, following a meeting with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin at the Gdansk (formerly Lenin) shipyards.

President Walesa said that he hoped to hold more such meetings with Polish and foreign politicians, given that his relations with the government, and particularly the prime minister were on a sound footing.

Asked to comment on the nomination of Jan Piatkowski as the new justice minister, the president said that he supported it.

Taking advantage of a meeting with his former workmates at the shipyard, President Walesa asked for their opinions on "Bolek," an agent of the former communist secret services who operated in the shipyard in the early 1970s, and who has been "named" by right-wing politicians as President Walesa himself.

In response, the workers at the shipyard said that there were several "Boleks" among the workforce, prepared to testify that they had operated under that pseudonym. Asked to comment on the publication in Polish newspapers in the U.S. of documentation relating to agent "Bolek," President Walesa suggested that this might amount to provocation on the part of a foreign power.

Wants Right To Check Validity of Treaties

LD1203205193 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—President Lech Walesa has proposed that the presidency should have the right to submit international treaties to the Constitutional Tribunal for an opinion on their compatibility with the constitution, the Presidential Office announced on Friday.

Under present arrangements, the Constitutional Tribunal can only consider domestic legislation, and its rulings can be rejected by a ⅔ majority vote in the Sejm (lower house of parliament).

However, Andrzej Gliniecki, director of the Legal Office of the Presidential Chancellery, said on Friday that this arrangement did not guarantee that the constitutional requirement of a separation of powers between the legislature and the executive would be upheld. Also, it was "insufficient" to refuse the tribunal the power to examine international agreements.

The president also proposed changes in the appointment of members of the Constitutional Tribunal, including a proposal to allow the tribunal to elect its own president (at present, he is appointed by the Sejm).

Government To Correct Agriculture Policy

LD1203234493 Warsaw PAP in English 2253 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—The government has decided to make essential corrections to its agricultural policy for laying foundations for modern agriculture remains one of its main goals, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told a meeting of the National Political Council of the Peasant-Christian Party (SLCH) that started in Warsaw on Friday.

The prime minister said the real progress in Polish economy is linked with the overall development of the Polish economy. She added that the building of civilization infrastructure in the countryside is necessary to improve the farmers living conditions.

"It remains our intention to support any activity which aims at costs decrease and increase in agricultural profitability. It is our belief that the work of farmers cannot be worse treated than that performed by the industrial workers or employees of other sectors of the national economy," she added.

Asked whether the government has developed a concept how to solve issues related to unemployment, reprivatization, privatization and economy restructuring, the prime minister replied that Poland would belong to exceptional countries if she had ready solutions to all of her problems.

"These problems are not insoluble although cushioning them is not easy," she said.

Commenting on the planned protest actions of farmers unions, Hanna Suchocka told the meeting that strike is a normal thing in a democratic state, but if it becomes a daily routine it leads to the distortion of the idea of strike and poses danger to the state.

Asked about the possibility of broadening the present coalition Hanna Suchocka said it depended on other parties and not only on her.

Government Prefers Negotiations Through GATT

LD1303201693 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Washington, March 13—Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Bryt notified the United States chief trade negotiator's office in Washington that Poland would prefer to negotiate customs tariffs through GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), rather than conduct bilateral talks with each country seperately. He added that Poland also intends to make unilateral decisions regarding exemptions from custom duties on certain products.

The United States, which had appealed to Poland for reductions and exemptions from custom duties on a considerable number of its products, responded that it would consider Poland's propositions and reply in the near future.

Poland is currently in the process of renegotiating its application protocal to GATT to obtain the status of a market economy country. Poland's appeal for market economy status is being considered also by the U.S.

Farmers To Receive More Credit From Banks

LD1203163593 Warsaw PAP in English 1532 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—There is a chance that Polish farmers will get four times more credits this spring than last year as the Ministry of Agriculture has signed with Polish banks agreements providing for 4.5 trillion zlotys (about 273 million dollars) in drought credits and talks are continued on further loans of 1.5 trillion zlotys.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Maria Zwolinska said Friday that apart from the banks servicing agriculture also commercial banks are ready to provide drought credits for farmers. "The important thing now is for cooperative banks which do not have the necessary funds to establish cooperation with those banks", she said.

Among the commercial banks which have decided to increase the amount of provided drought loans Zwolinska named Bank Gdanski, Bank PKO BP in Warsaw, Bank Slaski in Katowice and others. She stressed that commercial banks should not be afraid that the short-term credits granted to farmers may not be repaid. Bank reports prove that over 90 per cent of such credits have been repaid on time.

ZSMP Elects Witfold Firak New Chairman

LD1403174593 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The 7th Congress of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) which ended its two-day debates in Warsaw on Sunday elected Witold Firak as the organization's new chairman and decided to leave unchanged both the name and programme.

The congress criticized the activity of the ZSMP's outgoing chairman Piotr Mochnaczewski blaming him for the wrong financial policy and failure to properly represent the ZSMP in the parliamentary forum. The congress obligated Mochnaczewski, who is a deputy of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the ZSMP's sole representative in parliament, to present to the Sejm (lower house) problems relating to the union's activity.

In the adopted programmatic resolution the ZSMP congress came out against the economic system which brings unemployment and in favour of a state-financed educational system as well as for removing religion classes from schools. The congress also came out against the anti-abortion law which comes into effect in Poland on March 16.

The congress has decided that the ZSMP will remain the signatory of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and will most probably cooperate closely with the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), the Union of Labour (UP) and the Movement of the Young Left.

The congress criticized, as discriminatory and contradicting the binding legal norms, a draft law prepared by the Sejm deputies which seeks to hand over ZSMP assets to the State Treasury. Simultaneously, the congress declared its readiness to negotiate the issue of the union's property with all the interested youth organizations.

The union's leaders have confirmed that the ZSMP is in a difficult financial situation and owes some 100 billion zlotys (about 6 million USD) to the bank Rozwoju of Lodz.

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth has at present about 15-17 thousand members and sympathizers aged between 14 and 35 who are grouped in 14 independent regional structures operating in 27 provinces of Poland.

Ene Receives Ukrainian Parliament Delegation

AU1203191893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1734 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1993—The secretary of state of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, Constantin Ene, met on March 12, a Ukrainian delegation headed by Dmitriy Vasilovich Pavlichko [name as received] chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Rada (Ukraine's parliament).

"As Romania and Ukraine inherited a situation imposed by well-known conditions, we have to find a way of approaching all the problems in the future" said Secretary Constantin Ene.

As the general framework of the bilateral relations was discussed over, the Romanian party expressed its will that these relations swiftly develop. "It was a frank discussion on matters that unite or divide us" said the Romanian official and further added that the talks included aspects concerning the completion of the Romanian-Ukrainian political treaty. The parties considered a few months term for the treaty be completed.

Romania and Ukraine are negotiating over 30 conventions, including the joint exploitation of the Krivoy Rog ore field.

Iliescu Meets With Delegation

AU1203191693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1993—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received on March 12 at Cotroceni Palace the delegation of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine, headed by Dmitriy Vasilovich Pavlichko [name as received], chairman of the commission.

At the close of the interview presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu said that intensified political contacts are expected between the two countries in future. Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase was officially invited to Kiev in the first decade of April. President Ion Iliescu will be present in Ukraine's capital soon to sign in all probabilities the bilateral treaty of cooperation with that country.

The Romanian-Ukrainian bilateral relations were in the focus of the talks at Cotroceni. The fact was stressed that "certain historical realities," which of course were not wanted, "must not influence" in any way the natural tendency of establishing normal relations between the two countries. The concrete economic projects, among which the Krivoy Rog project, which involves Romanian and Ukrainian enterprises, will be of course an impetus in the development of these relations. It is only by encouraging the economic agents in the two countries to develop their relations that the difficult economic situation in both Romania and Ukraine can be overcome.

President Ion Iliescu hoped that the Romanian minority in Ukraine would benefit the required conditions for the preservation of its national identity.

Premier Vacaroiu Receives Delegation

AU1203194593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1993—Friday, March 12, Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu received the delegation of the Ukrainian Supreme Rada (parliament) headed by Dmitriy Pavlichko [name as received], chairman of the Commission for Foreign Policy, now on a visit to Bucharest.

It was pointed out that the difficulties of the transition, many of them common to the two countries, could be more easily overcome through closer cooperation, as "Romania's and Ukraine's potentials allow for a doubling or even tripling of the economic relations." In that context the Ukrainian delegation showed interest in the possibility to cooperate in crude processing in the Constanta area (Black Sea port).

Foreign Minister Melescanu Returns From Bonn

AU1203195593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1993—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu came back after a two-day visit to Bonn, over March 11 and 12. During the visit the chief of Romanian diplomacy was received by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. The minister also had talks with members of the German Government, politicians, representatives of Saxons and Swabians originated in Romania.

Vacaroiu, Prefects Discuss Agriculture Campaign

AU1303182593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1722 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1993—Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, his ministers of food and agriculture, education, water, forest and environment protection, the government's secretary general and the head of the local administration department held a telephone conference with the prefects about progress of this spring's farm works.

The premier started with a brief presentation of the previous day's government sitting and outlined some of the major targets the prefects should devote their attention to over the following period, such as: the predictable hazard of floods subsequent to fast thaw; careful preparation of farm machinery for the spring agricultural campaign; the detection of land plots left uncultivated over the past two years and urgent measures to assign them for capitalisation.

The premier requested the prefects to speed up the issuance of the land ownership certificates and solve with expediency litigations derived from the process.

The chief of the Romanian executive asked the prefects to take drastic measures against corruption, crime, tax evasion, for a prompter pronouncement in law suits, of which he indicated as priority the cases of forest abuse, and the attempts by firms to evade their dues or debts to suppliers.

The premier stressed again the difficulties the government is likely to expect once subsidies are withdrawn with effect from 1 May and the value added tax and the new excise system are introduced.

The prefects informed the executive about the concrete problems they have to cope with in their areas of jurisdiction.

Opposition Condemns Government Economic Program

AU1203191093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] "The present government, with its poor administrative capacity and lack of pragmatic spirit, is pushing the country to a political crisis in the immediate future, and to restoration and stagnation in the medium run, to a pattern of society characterized by monopolism, mass poverty and instability in the long run", reads the motion of censure against the government presented on March 11 by the opposition in the Parliament and released by ROMPRES.

The opposition says that by presenting the motion it pursues avoidance of "a build-up of mass discontent that might generate a new authoritarian regime extremely dangerous in the geo-political context in post-communist Europe, as well as the worsening of the inter-ethnic tensions".

It is assessed in the motion that the strategy of economic and social reform presented by the government is a "heterogeneous and contradictory package of desiderata of economic and social policy which is short of concrete solutions, terms of application and sources the country avails of for their implementation".

Noting that the "government refuses to assume responsibility for this strategy" and that "the principles advanced in the document reinstate a regime of bureaucratic directing and centralized voluntarism that can only slow down or stop the process of economic reform and extend a transition with tremendous social costs", the motion urges the parliamentarians to withdraw the confidence granted to the current government, opening the path to "a new government formula relying on a powerful parliamentary support", apt to apply "a program of real continuation of the reform."

Reactions to Opposition Motion in Parliament

AU1303182393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1993—Friday, 12 March, the parliamentary opposition laid a motion with the standing bureaus of the two houses of Parliament for a no-confidence vote to the cabinet headed by Premier Vacaroiu. The move triggered various reactions among senators and deputies.

Petre Roman, National Salvation Front (FSN) said the motion was prompted by the "government's unwillingness to engage its responsibility in that it refused to ask for a vote of confidence."

Ion Ratiu, Christian Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD), thinks "the motion will be rejected. It was a mistake on the part of the opposition."

Adrian Nastase, lower house speaker sees in the opposition's move "an inevitable, natural, legitimate act that needn't be justified."

Oliviu Gherman, president of the Senate, Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) leader, considers "the motion will lead to nothing but slow down the legislative process and parliamentary activities," and reminds the opposition that "last autumn they promised to be a constructive opposition."

Mircea Ciumara, PNTCD member and prominent economist, finds the motion as a "means to draw the attention of the public opinion to the lack of credibility the Vacaroiu programme suffers from."

Corneliu Vadim Tudor, Greater Romania Party (PRM) labeled the "so-called motion for a vote of censure as unserious" and expressed his party's wish to act for "averting a government crisis."

As stated at the Friday, 12 March press conference by the presidential spokesman, President Ion Iliescu "gives a positive assessment to the government's strategy and has full confidence in it."

As stipulated by the rules governing the joint sittings of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, a motion needs the signatures of one quarter, that is 121 of the total (482) elected members, to be laid. Once the motion is brought before the convened houses of Parliament, no later than five days since announcement, and after appropriate debates over the following three days, the motion is submitted to vote. It needs 242 votes to pass (parliamentary majority).

It is interesting to note that its signatories forfeit the right to lay their signatures on another motion for the rest of the legislature. As at the moment about 217 members of Parliament form the opposition, of whom 121 have signed the motion under debate these days, it means that, should the opposition contemplate another motion, it would have to 'attract' 25 parliamentarians

from the parties now supporting the government's programme (Democratic National Salvation Front, Romanian National Unity Party, Greater Romania Party, Socialist Labour Party).

Chebeleu Views Iliescu Stance on Various Issues

AU1203191293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1993—"We witness a democratic exercise in the Parliament, followed attentively by the president, which will undoubtedly lead to the consolidation of the democratic processes," said Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the presidency, at the March 12 news briefing, thus anticipating possible questions about President Ion Iliescu's stand on the recent debates in Romania's Parliament.

Making known his view on the government strategy, both in the consultations with the political parties and in various public statements, the Romanian head of state considers that the current cabinet assumed the responsibility of ruling as early as its inaugural in November 1992. Referring to the government program, President Iliescu assesses it is about a coherent, detailed and comprehensive document, a development of the program of last November which, as a matter of principle, would not need further approval. The fact that it currently comprises more documents than the electoral platform, or ideas that are comprised also in the platforms of other political parties demonstrates that the process of reform is permanent and perfectible, taking account to a great extent of the country's real needs.

"The president appreciates the government strategy," spokesman Chebeleu said, "and fully believes in the cabinet's ability to apply it."

The rumors circulated by the press that President Iliescu would plan to change the executive for a government of national unity or to dissolve the executive were dismissed as mere speculation.

"We must not overrate the importance of Parson Laszlo Tokes' statement," said presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu at the news conference on March 12. "Anyway, we do not mistake his statement for the official stand of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania."

The spokesman said in answer to a question that the presidency "is even more convinced that the future basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty should include an unequivocal clause regarding the impossibility of changing the frontiers between the two countries." Traian Chebeleu referred in that context to the recent Budapest meeting of the so-called World Transylvanian Union, where participants vehemently protested against such a clause.

Other aspects touched in the news briefing referred to the Romanian visit by the wife of the ex-sovereign, the granting of humanitarian aid to defunct Yugoslavia.

Traian Chebeleu also announced that the date of President Ion Iliescu's visit to the Gulf countries, envisaged to take place in the first decade of April, was about to be established by diplomatic channels.

Journalists Briefed on Government Activities

AU1203195993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1993—The main issues and bills surveyed by the members of the Romanian Government during this week were presented by government spokeswoman Doina Jalea at the weekly news conference. The government analysed the reports read by the ministers on external public debt, the situation of the energy, the stage of the preparation for the spring agricultural campaign and of the implementation of the Law of Land.

The spokeswoman further pointed to a sequence of decisions adopted by the government. Some decisions referred to: the allocation of 7.5 million U.S. dollars to the public corporation Romcereal R.A. for imports of pesticides; the membership, organisation and functioning of the inter-ministry council which approves the public works of national interest and the projects of social housing; the organisation and functioning of training farm lots placed under the care of the agricultural universities.

The government also examined the bill on the founding of the Romanian export-import bank which will make low-interest, short-term loans (interests below 35 percent) to boost exports. The bank will make loans up to 15 billion lei, said the spokeswoman.

No FRY Ships Held at Drobeta-Turnu Severin

AU1303182493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1993—"None of the nine ships held in the Romanian Danube port of Drobeta-Turnu Severin is from Yugoslavia, as wrongly announced," ROMPRES local correspondent informs, quoting the local port authority.

In the port of Drobeta-Turnu Severin lying at bay for the moment are four barges under Ukrainian flag, one of them unloaded, four Romanian barges, and the Orient-Express ship under German banner. All these vessels, some of which have been at anchor in the port of Drobeta-Turnu Severin for quite a while, the last of them being the German ship, arrived a week ago, are carrying goods falling under the restrictions imposed by the embargo against Yugoslavia. Stopped by the Romanian authorities and the UN experts at the customs of Iron Gates II, the said river shipping units are awaiting either the approval of the UN Security Council to transit Yugoslav waters, or instructions to fulfil other river-shipping formalities, the same sources inform.

At Orsova, another Romanian Danube port, other five Romanian barges are waiting for a decision about their cargoes, just like the ships in Drobeta-Turnu Severin.

Foreign Debt Reaches $2.2 Billion

AU1303173693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1993—In the Friday, 12 March sitting of the executive, state minister and minister of finance Florin Georgescu read a report on the foreign debt of Romania, a document to be submitted to Parliament.

The report shows that Romania's external debt, as at 31 December, 1992 stood at $2.2 billion.

The spokesman for the government showed at the today's newsbriefing that of the total credit granted to Romania, 91.3 percent had been spent for consumption and only 8.7 apportioned to development.

Survey Shows Estimates on 1993 Wage Increases

AU1503111493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0826 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—The net nominal average salary is expected to reach 38,140 lei in Romania in 1993, concomitant with a 47 percent rise over 1992 of consumer prices and tariffs, shows a survey drawn up by the national forecast board.

The net average salaries are expected to be raised by 29.3 percent while the indexation considered is 65 percent of the price rise. The proposed indexation pursues an income-consumer price ratio that should not be below 80 percent, as compared with last year.

Also, some 3.71 million children are foreseen to get state benefits in 1993. The average benefit will be 82 percent higher than the year before.

The number of scholarships estimated for 1993 is put by the same survey at 237,925, which will require budget spending of 19.2 billion lei.

Survey Provides Statistics on Land Distribution

AU1503112493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0823 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—"Romania's agriculture is actually in a disastrous condition. It is obvious only now that the idea of giving the land back to those who possessed it before cooperativization or to their descendants was an idea promoted in disregard of consequences," told magazine CAPITAL Tiberiu Muresan, president of the Romanian Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences. "My institution has recently completed a sociologic inquiry that covered 500 villages across the country. The inquiry shows that there are one million more land owners in Romania now than prior to the cooperativization (6,200,000 as compared to 5,300,000 in 1948). The academy president thinks it is worrying that in most of the rural farmsteads (56.7 percent) the workers' average age is past 60 years.

The inquiry also shows that the application of the Land Law generated the following distribution of farmsteads according to the size of farm areas: 2.5 percent landless, 25.9 percent land properties of up to 1 hectare, 37.7 percent between 1-3 hectares, 19.3 percent between 3 and 5 hectares, 14.6 percent between 5 and 10 hectares. Tiberiu Muresan says the statistics demonstrates the crumbling of the Romanian agricultural land property, while the developed countries have achieved agricultural growth through extended land properties.

Another negative aspect shown by the inquiry is that most of the farm land owners (43.1 percent) live in urban localities, 39.1 percent are employees and pensioners and only 17.8 percent are farmers. Consequently, wide expanses were left untilled in 1992. The remaking of the right of land ownership and the introduction of a land lease system are proposed as remedies for halting the further crumbling of the peasant farmsteads.

Toxic Waste Prepared for Return to Germany

AU1403145493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Within the framework of the action of returning to Germany the chemical waste illegally deposited in Sibiu area some 17 months ago, the German experts yesterday opened the second and largest storage structure, situated in Miercurea Sibiului, which contains more than 300 toxic chemicals. According to our correspondent, further repackaging and transfer operations are under way. The entire quantity of chemical waste deposited in Dobirca village will be loaded on train cars in Miercurea Sibiului railway station.

Izetbegovic Says Vance-Owen Map Must Be 'Corrected'

LD1403204193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013 GMT 14 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic on Sunday [14 March] dismissed as unacceptable the map of Bosnia-Hercegovina proposed by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo said.

Izetbegovic spoke at a joint session in Sarajevo of the Bosnian Rump Presidency and government (which include only Moslem and Croat representatives and leave out legal representatives of Bosnian Serbs) [words indistinct].

A brutal civil, ethnic and religious war which broke out in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina nearly a year ago has pitted the local Moslems and Croats against Bosnia's Serbs.

Izetbegovic said the proposed map had to be corrected if it were to be accepted. He criticized the Vance-Owen peace package for Bosnia, which offers also a truce agreement and a new constitution, as providing for a weak central government while giving too much power to the provincial authorities.

Both Bosnian Serbs and Moslems have balked at the proposed map, with only the Croats adopting it as it stands.

The Serbs find the document unacceptable because it leaves one- third of Bosnia's Serbs in either Moslem- or Croat-controlled provinces, while the Moslems oppose it because they want a unitary state, which is nothing but a pretext for creating an Islamic fundamentalist state in Europe under their domination as the largest nation in the original republic. (Before the war, Moslems accounted for 44 percent of the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbs for 32 percent and Croats, for 17 percent).

Izetbegovic said the proposed documents had some good points—namely, they guaranteed survival, prevented the formation of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Croat state of Herceg-Bosnia in the original Bosnia-Hercegovina, and consolidated the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the world.

The session is still in progress, the radio said.

Muslim Attack Reported on Nevesinje

LD1203130993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1224 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Skelani, March 12 (TANJUG)—Muslim forces continued attacking the positions of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs and Serbian villages in the area of Skelani, eastern Bosnia, on the night of March 11-12 and on Friday morning.

Three members of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs were lightly wounded in the attacks, the Army sources said.

There were no casualties in the bombardment on Nevesinje, a town in eastern Hercegovina, on Thursday, but great material damage was done.

Croatia's Army and local Muslim formations shelled Nevesinje from heavy artillery throughout Thursday afternoon and late into the night, military sources of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs said on Friday.

Civilian targets were strictly shelled, the same sources said.

Croatia's Army shelled 15 villages and suburbs in the area Of trebinje, eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Thursday afternoon, according to the same sources.

The Serbian villages have been shelled for six days running, the Serbian sources said. The same sources recalled that Croatia's Army had plundered, burned and destroyed over 20 villages in the Trebinje municipality. The villages were occupied by Croatia's troops in June last year.

Croatia has at least 60,000 of its regular Army troops engaged in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The bulk of those troops are concentrated in the western part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, i.e., in Hercegovina and have penetrated deep inside the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbs Kill Four Civilians, Wound 30 in Konjevic Polje

AU1203210693 Paris AFP in English 2027 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (AFP)—Serbian artillery fire killed four civilians and wounded 30 others Friday [12 March] in the eastern Bosnian enclave of Konjevic Polje where terrorized residents have blocked eight U.N. British soldiers and three U.N. military observers since Thursday [11 March], a U.N. spokesman said.

Major Alan Abrahams, the leader of the British soldiers, told United Nations observers Friday that Serbian snipers had deliberately fired at the medical convoy they were escorting, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said.

A crowd of about 3,000 to 4,000 residents surrounded the group's two armoured vehicles Thursday, fearing reprisals from Bosnian Serbs after its departure. The soldiers were escorting a medical convoy from the Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF, or Doctors Without Borders) relief organization. The three observers are

from Russia, Kenya and Brazil, said U.N. observer Major Peder Haljumset of Norway.

Edouard Stagier, a nurse traveling with the MSF convoy, said several women lay down in front of the armoured vehicles in a desperate effort to stop them. Stagier and his team succeeded in leaving the enclave after a three-hour visit during which they delivered medical supplies and tended to the wounded.

Sunday [14 March], the Bosnian Government is expected to reveal its position on the U.N.-E.C. peace plan that proposes to split the former Yugoslav republic into 10 provinces, an aide to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told AFP Friday.

However, Bosnian radio said that a joint meeting Sunday of Moslem, Catholic and Orthodox representatives from Bosnia would only examine the peace plan.

General Philippe Morillon, chief of United Nations forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, was still "safe and sound" Friday in the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Konjevic, a U.N. military spokesman said.

Morillon has been there since Thursday. He had been expected to leave for Zvornik Friday on the Drina River near the Serbian border, a UNPROFOR spokesman said.

His plans were to negotiate with Serbian authorities safe passage for a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees convoy. For days, Serbian forces have blocked this convoy that is trying to rescue wounded and civilians at Srebrenica.

United Nations officials have said the situation in Srebrenica, a magnet for Moslem refugees fleeing surrounding villages, is acute, with people dying daily from famine and disease.

Fighting was raging between separatist Serbs and Bosnian forces Friday, especially in the eastern Bosnian region of Skelani, said the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA. Three Serbs were injured and Bosnians also suffered "heavy losses," SRNA said.

The Moslem offensive against strategic Serbian positions in eastern Bosnia took place most notably in Poljak, Kragivoda and Sulica in the Skelani region near the Serbian border, SRNA said.

An anti-personnel mine Thursday wounded a British UNPROFOR soldier in the Gornji Vakuf region, controlled by the Croatian army of Bosnia, UNPROFOR in Belgrade said.

Serbian Troops Killed in Novakovici

LD1203215893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Our sabotage group, members of an elite Bosnia-Hercegovina Army unit, liquidated 20 chetniks in the Novakovici part of Kotorac. They also destroyed several multi-rocket launchers, one anti-aircraft gun, and damaged one armored personnel carrier. [passage omitted]

Croatian-Muslim Forces Bombard Nevesinje Area

LD1303114893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bileca, March 13 (TANJUG)—The Croatian-Muslim forces in the River Neretva valley early on Saturday morning shelled, using heavy artillery weapons, civilian targets in the area of the town of Nevesinje, the Bileca-based command of the Army of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina said.

Villages in the area of the Trebinje forest, especially Taleza, Ljubov, Grmljani and Gojsina, are the targets of the heaviest shelling by Croatian forces.

Croatia's regular army troops in the occupied parts of the Trebinje municipality are continuing work on the construction of roads and other facilities, which military sources of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs take as a sign that Croatia's army considers the area to be Croatia's and means to stay there.

Croatian-Muslim forces have as of yesterday been bombarding Mount Velez and the area around it, and Vranjevici near Mostar from mortars, artillery weapons, tanks and sporadically also multi-rocket launchers.

Civilian targets in Nevesinje were shelled during the night from heavy long-range artillery weapons. Significant material damage was caused but fortunately there were no casualties.

The Bileca-based command of the Hercegovina corps of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegoina Serbs said that Nevesinje and the Serbian positions were shelled from the monastery at Potocani, the hill [word indistinct] and the village of Djubrani near Mostar, where Croatia's artillery units are deployed.

Only sporadic artillery fire has been heard from both sides along the Capljina-Stolac line since Friday. The aggressor's chief targets are the Serbian positions on the Komanje hill and at Ravnice near Stolac.

Serbs Shell Bihac, Gradacac, Kalesija, Mostar

AU1203122193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 12 March within its regular 18-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Gradacac Press Center reports that "the aggressor has continued to amass armored vehicles north of Gradacac, in the (Ledzarice) region. The reinforcements that recently arrived have led to fierce Chetnik attacks on the free Gradacac territory early this morning."

The Zvornik Press Center reports that "according to intelligence and reconnaissance reports, a new Chetnik regrouping has been noticed in the region of (Savice) yesterday. As more than 70 of their soldiers have been put out of action, they had to be replaced from Russian units stationed in Lopare."

Enes Osmancevic reports on "the Chetniks continuing to shell civilian targets in Kalesija early this morning." He also says that "it has been calm in Banovici this morning. As I report, it is still calm in Tuzla as well."

Mirudin Aldobasic reports from the Doboj region that "defense forces members in (?Karluse) repulsed an infantry attack from the direction of Plane." Further on, Aldobasic says that "a new regrouping of Chetnik forces has been noticed in the region of Sevarlije, Pridjel, Potocani, and Jabucic Polje."

Mehmedalija Zulic reports that the general alarm was sounded in Bihac. He says that "shortly after 0800 [0700 GMT] this morning, from his stronghold in Gorjevac, the enemy began a fierce shelling of the defenders' positions and the outskirts of Bihac."

A studio announcer reports that "the general alarm was sounded in Mostar at 0830. Several Chetnik shells fell on the center of town."

Report Says 'Poisonous Gases' Used in Biljeg Area

LD1303185793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] The most difficult situation is in Srebrenica, and we have just received the latest report from this town:

[Unidentified correspondent] The aggressors' fierce offensive against Srebrenica has been raging for almost two months. Throughout today the aggressors launched heavy artillery and infantry attacks. At 1545 we received a report from Srebrenica that the aggressors' air force was engaged in combat action in the Kragivode area, while in the Biljeg area—the scene of the fiercest infantry battles—enemy helicopters are releasing poisonous gases.

This is the press center of the Srebrenica armed forces headquarters reporting for Bosnia-Hercegovina Radio and Television.

'Chetniks' Drop 'Poison Gases' in Drinja Valley

LD1403224793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] According to a report by the II Corps command in Tuzla, Chetniks have perpetrated another massacre on the thousands of refugees from Konjevic Polje. Those who have not managed to reach the defenders' positions or Srebrenica have met their tragic fate, it is said in the II Corps command's report. Not even the presence of General Morillon has restrained the Chetniks, as their aircraft are discharging poison gases, and their artillery and tanks pound the Drina Valley.

The command stresses that Gen. Morillon is getting increasingly specific in his assessment of the situation and the aggressor's crimes. It remains to be seen how the international community is going to react to his demand.

Morillon Urges Opening of Corridor to Srebrenica

AU1203164093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] With the help of a ham radio operator in Srebrenica, we were able to receive a statement by Phillipe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which he called upon UNPROFOR members to try and reach the endangered citizens with the convoys of the UN High Commission for Refugees:

[Begin Morillon recording in French with superimposed translation in Serbo-Croatian] I am speaking to you from Srebrenica, where I arrived last night. As I had feared, I encountered an extremely dramatic situation that has further deteriorated since the arrival of the Serbian Army. I can assure you that Srebrenica is presently a town toward which we are directing all our efforts. First, I demand that a convoy follow me, since its passage was denied. The convoy must be granted permission to pass through and join me here in Srebrenica. Beside the difficulties with in obtaining permission, the convoy's passage is additionally hindered by snow and mountain roads.

Only when I saw for myself that there is an extremely high number of refugees here and that the town is being bombed did I realize that a true crime was being committed here. Therefore, I decided that a group of UN observers will stay behind in Srebrenica until the clashes die down.

We demanded that all combat activities end within 48 hours. I think that we need to open an air corridor, since humanitarian aid has only been coming by parachutes, which is just not sufficient. I also believe that we need to open a corridor that would allow UN helicopters to land in Srebrenica over the next few days. When all necessary approvals are met, we must immediately start evacuating the seriously wounded. [end recording]

Negotiates Passage of Convoy in Zvornik

AU1203170593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] A convoy that is supposed to evacuate 75 wounded people from Konjevic Polje is still waiting for approval from the aggressor to reach its destination, journalists were told at today's news conference in the headquarters of the Sarajevo UN Protection Force.

Members of the British battalion that accompanied the convoy succeeded in entering Konjevic Polje yesterday.

However, the trucks that were supposed to evacuate the wounded were denied access. The aggressor put forward new conditions; he even demanded that wounded Serbs from Sarajevo be evacuated first.

General Morillon, who was in Srebrenica last night, held talks with the Chetniks in Zvornik today to obtain permission for the convoy to travel to Konjevic Polje. Journalists were informed that Muslim women demonstrated in front of British soldiers last night, demanding that the evacuation of wounded from Konjevic Polje be facilitated as quickly as possible. The convoy carrying food for Srebrenica residents did not manage to reach its destination either. One Belgian truck from this convoy at 1700 [1600 GMT] yesterday hit a mine that prevented further progress of this humanitarian operation. The damage to the truck is great, but fortunately no one in it was injured. The convoy will continue on its way if the aggressor allows.

Aid Convoy Does Not Arrived

LD1303114393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In Bosnia-Hercegovina General Philippe Morillon was still in Srebrenica this morning. Although the French general referred yesterday in dramatic terms to the crimes being committed by the aggressor against Srebrenica and called for an immediate halt to the conflict, there is no indication that the Chetniks have heeded this appeal. The convoy carrying food and medicines, which is to evacuate wounded civilians from the town, has still not arrived in Srebrenica. Gen. Morillon was beseiged by women and children in Srebrenica yesterday and was not allowed to leave until they received a firm assurance that the food convoy will arrive in the town. According to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], these are refugees from eastern Bosnia, who ended their demonstration late last night. If the UN High Commissioner for refugees [UNHCR] convoy continues to be unable to reach Srebrenica, the U.S. airdrops, which last night provided 60 parcels to the population of this town, will continue. [passage omitted]

Morillon Said Held by Muslims

AU1303204393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Vladimir Mitric report from Loznica]

[Text] French General Philip Morillon, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, is still in Srebrenica. As we found out last night from circles close to UNPROFOR, Gen. Morillon is practically a prisoner of the Srebrenica Muslims, who they are not allowing him to leave. These sources add that he is surrounded by several hundred Muslims, but we do not have any more information as to why.

Three military observers from Russia, Canada, and Portugal left Banja Koviljaca at about 1100 [1000 GMT] on their way to Srebrenica. They are supposed to help obtain the release of Gen. Morillon and his associates.

Says Remains of Own 'Free Will'

LD1403173493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1706 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, French General Philippe Morillon on Sunday [14 March] said he remained in the Moslem-controlled town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia on his free will because delivering aid to Srebrenica was a matter of life and death.

Gen. Morillon on Sunday made a statement for Channel One of the French Television TF1, by radio transmission, indicating that his soldier's honour obliged him to stay in Srebrenica, where refugees continued to arrive, and that he would stay there for as long as it was necessary to secure safety of the population.

Gen. Morillon underlined that the arrival of the U.N. humanitarian convoy in Srebrenica was of priority and that political, diplomatic and international pressure should continue to be exerted until the convoy arrives.

Gen. Morillon called the 'U.S. friends' to be more accurate in parachuting aid down to Srebrenica and expressed his regrets that at least one person was killed by a falling palette with aid.

The Russian news agency ITAR-TASS on Saturday claimed that Gen. Morillon was being held against his will since last Thursday by Srebrenica Moslems, who demand the immediate release of the U.N. convoy, an immediate halt to the alleged Serb offensive against Srebrenica and the evacuation of wounded.

The U.N. convoy carrying humanitarian aid, which was waiting at the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina to get permission to cross the border, on Sunday was allowed to continue its journey to Srebrenica, REUTERS reported.

The convoy of 23 vehicles, including 10 trucks, was carrying 125 tonnes of aid, mostly food.

Authenticity of Statement Questioned

LD1303205693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2023 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 13 (TANJUG)—The authenticity of the statement by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Bosnian commander General Philippe Morillon that he stayed in Moslem-held Srebrenica voluntarily is being investigated at the UNPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb, foreign news agencies reported on Saturday [13 March].

Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio on Saturday broadcast what it said was a message transmitted from Srebrenica by an amateur radio operator in which Morillon denied today's assertion by a UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] spokesman that he had been 'prevented from leaving' Srebrenica.

Morillon and a group of his aides were on Friday detained in the post office building in Srebrenica by local Moslems demanding that he mediate in efforts to bring about a ceasefire and the arrival of a humanitarian convoy.

A spokesman for UNPROFOR in Zagreb said the U.N. peacekeepers were treating (Morillon's) message with caution and evaluating its authenticity. The REUTERS news agency also quotes an unnamed U.N. peacekeeper in Kiseljak, near Sarajevo, as saying the statement could have been made under duress.

Morillon said in the statement, broadcast in its entirety by Sarajevo Radio, that he had decided to stay in Srebrenica in order to 'calm the anguish' of the local population.

'Last week it became clear the Serbs were not stopping their offensive in Eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, not so much because they needed to capture territory, but because they had become outraged at the discovery of mass graves in Kamenica. I have tried to make them understand that justice for all war crimes should be dispensed once the fighting has ceased and peace has been established, but they... had decided to take justice into their own hands,' Morillon is claimed to have said.

The bodies of 38 Serbs, victims of horrific Moslem torture, have been identified thus far in a mass grave discovered in Kamenica, near Zvornik (eastern Bosnia). Dozens of such graves are feared to exist in eastern Bosnia—Serb sources say Moslems have killed about 1,200 Serbs in that part of Bosnia-Hercegovina alone, including more than one thousand civilians.

General Morillon has been severely criticized by Bosnian Moslems over a recent statement made after visits to Moslem villages of Cerska and Konjevic Polje, when he said he had seen no evidence of Serb massacres of Moslems there.

Two days ago the Serbs cautioned Morillon about the risk he was taking in going to Srebrenica, on account of the continuing Moslem offensive in eastern Bosnia, ordered on Monday by (Moslem) Bosnia- Hercegovina Army Commander Sefer Halilovic.

In the broadcast from Srebrenica, Morillon is reported to have demanded an immediate halt to the Serb offensive in the region and ceasefire, deployment of necessary U.N. military observers, opening of a road corridor and sending of humanitarian convoys to the area.

Before his departure for Srebrenica, the Bosnian Serb Army gave Morillon a number of buses for evacuating wounded civilians, but said they would not allow them to be used for taking out Moslem soldiers, who have taken part in massacres of Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia.

Comments on Remaining in Srebrenica

LD1403175093 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Excerpt] General Morillon, commander of the UN forces in Bosnia, is spending his fourth day in Srebrenica, the Muslim enclave besieged by the Serbs in the east of Bosnia. Gen. Morillon chose to stay in Srebrenica to try to save the population from a Serbian attack. He reaffirmed this this morning to our colleagues on TF1:

[Begin recording] [Morillon] I know an attack on Srebrenica would be a crime against humanity, and I am there to prevent it.

[Unidentified correspondent] Have you been threatened, have you come under pressure, even friendly pressure, from the people, to stay?

[Morillon] It is true that the first night I was stuck in Srebrenica. So (?I decided) [words indistinct] was not possible, and then during that night I saw floods of refugees arriving and continuing to enter the town. Of course that encouraged me to make the decision to stay until such time as I am certain that the safety of the people is guaranteed. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Conditions Made for Release

LD1303134893 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1200 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer Georges Amar] French General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN forces in former Yugoslavia, in Bosnia, is being held in a city in eastern Bosnia by Bosnian Muslims. Should we use the word hostage? I will ask this question to Major Robertson, of the UN forces, who is in Zagreb talking to us live. Good morning, Major Robertson.

[Robertson] Good morning.

[Amar] Robertson, hello.

[Robertson] Good morning.

[Amar] Do you have news at this moment, at 1313 Paris time, of General Philippe Morillon?

[Robertson] The news we have now is that he is still in the small city of Srebrenica in the (?post office) building. He is not being allowed by the Muslims to leave the building unless three conditions are fulfilled.

[Amar] Which ones?

[Robertson] First, that he organizes an immediate cease-fire between the two parties. Second, that when he leaves, he leaves UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] observers behind to ensure that no one violates the cease-fire.

[Amar] The third condition?

[Robertson] That the [word indistinct] coming with the air-drops continue.

[Amar] Major Robertson, can it be said that Gen. Morillon is the hostage of the Bosnian Muslims?

[Robertson] I'm sorry, there is a lot of noise, can you repeat the question?

[Amar] Can it be said that Gen. Morillon is the hostage of Bosnian Muslims?

[Robertson] I'm not quite sure that the word hostage is the right one. He is not allowed to leave but I don't personnally think that he is being detained. Hostage, maybe. But as I'm not on the [words indistinct] I cannot use the word hostage.

[Amar] Thank you very much Sandy Robertson for the details you have given us live from Zagreb. We'll call you, of course, during the 2000 news. Thanks again.

[Robertson] My pleasure. [passage omitted]

[Announcer Gerard Sebag] Some more news: in Paris, the foreign and defense ministers are in touch with the small city of Srebrenica and they have spoken on the phone with Gen. Morillon. He is fine. [passage omitted]

Demands Made on Behalf of Srebrenica

LD1303162893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] After the artillery attack, chetniks launched an infantry attack at 0900 [0800 GMT] from the direction of Bratunac toward Srebrenica, along a 10-kilometer stretch of the front. These infantry attacks have strong artillery support from tanks, howitzers, and mortar launchers in Zuti Most, Kaolin, Sase, and Andric. The Potocari area has been exposed to heavy shelling from multi-barrel rocket launchers, tanks, and howitzers from the Nemic hill and from above quarries in Serbia. French General Morillon has been watching the people of Srebrenica suffer, drawing his own conclusions about the situation and promising that when he leaves, he will demand from the Serb authorities that this offensive be stopped; while the people of Srebrenica—having learned their lesson from Cerska—are insisting that he do so there and then. Morillon agreed to that and his address to the public and the world is proof of how hard and burdensome life in Srebrenica is.

Let us now hear the statement which General Morillon made in Srebrenica today:

[Begin Morillon recording in French with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] When I was appointed as UN commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina I decided that my headquarters would be in Sarajevo because that is where the people were in danger. It was a symbolic gesture—to reduce the risk faced by the Sarajevo residents. Last week it became clear that the Serbs are not going to stop their offensive in eastern Bosnia, not just because they want to seize more territory, but because they are infuriated by the discovery of a mass grave in Kamenica. I tried to convince them that the same justice would be meted out for all war crimes and that this has already been established, but they did not want to listen. They decided to take justice into their own hands, [several words indistinct] that a great tragedy would befall Srebrenica. I specifically chose to come here and decided to remain in Srebrenica in order to reassure its worried residents and try and save them.

I demand:
1. An immediate end to the Serb offensive, which I was promised in Pale.
2. The immediate and complete implementation of all cease-fire agreements.
3. The immediate and permanent deployment of necessary UN military observers.
4. The opening of a road corridor from Srebrenica to Zvornik, via Bratunac and Konjevic Polje. UN Protection Force (?experts) will repair the destroyed section of the road between Srebrenik and Bratunac.
5. The opening of an air corridor to Srebrenica for the evacuation of hundreds of seriously wounded people.
6. The immediate release of the convoy which had been sent to Srebrenica, and which is now stranded in Zvornik.

This is what the people of Srebrenica are asking for. Do not be afraid. I will stay here with you. [last sentence directed to people of Srebrenica is in Serbo-Croatian] [end recording]

Srebrenica Official Apologizes

LD1303200593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] General Philippe Morillon, UN commander for Bosnia- Hercegovina, arrived in Srebrenica two days ago and decided to stay in order to speed up efforts to improve the situation in this area. In this connection Murat Efendic, member of the Srebrenica war presidency, addressed the people of this town:

[Begin Efendic recording] In my capacity as member of the Srebrenica municipality war presidency, I wish to express my gratitude to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], and especially to Gen. Philippe Morillon and Larry Hollingworth, for all they have done for the protection of civilians in Srebrenica. At the same time, I take this opportunity to apologize to all UNPROFOR and UNHCR members in Srebrenica for any inconvenience they may have suffered during this difficult but deeply humane mission.

I am convinced that Gen. Morillon and his aides are aware of the misunderstandings, which are the result of the desperate situation in which these people find themselves. However, it is in the interest of the people of this area that the UNPROFOR and UNHCR should enjoy

the complete freedom of their actions. I, therefore, propose that the military and civilian authorities in Srebrenica make this possible. This stand is shared by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency. With the help of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the UNPROFOR, the UNHCR, and the entire world public—who are condemning the Chetnik genocide to which the entire world bears witness—the people of Srebrenica will keep their freedom and avoid the fate prepared for them by the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressors.

My dear compatriots, I assure you that the UNPROFOR and UNHCR representatives, especially Philippe Morillon and Larry Hollingworth, have from the start done everything they can to help you. Their recent commitments—which you can see for yourselves—confirm that they are the true friends of our nation. Trust them and be good hosts to them. [end recording]

Morillon Tells Serbs To Trust UN

LD1403204693 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer Paul Amar] The difficulties of Srebrenica residents are such that General Morillon decided to stay; he acts as a kind of shield. Is he free in his movements? I asked him this question in a radio interview recorded shortly before this bulletin.

[Begin recording] [Morillon] I have intentionally decided to stay here. My initial intention was to deploy observers. By witnessing the situation on the spot, and following a request by the population, I understood that I had to stay with them in order to allay their anxiety and ensure their safety. I had to stay with them.

[Amar] However, we were first told yesterday that, initially, you were, in a way, you were stopped by some people.

[Morillon] Yes, it is true. Women and children opposed my departure, while the presidency had approved it. Once more I considered that the presence of observers was a guarantee. It is true that I was stopped, but it is also true that in order to preserve my honor as a soldier, I wanted to show them that I was not their prisoner, so I voluntarily escaped during the night to come back, naturally, in the morning and to tell them that I was staying with them.

[Amar] Your action is obviously gallant; it is being watched from Paris. But with this action, are you not making up for the deficiencies of the international community and of governments in particular?

[Morillon] Absolutely not. I am fully confident that the whole of the United Nations first and then all the governments—I rely on them—will be behind my action, and in particular behind the speedy passage of this road convoy still blocked in Zvornik. I repeat that there are thousands of refugees here; some of them have not eaten for five or six days.

[Amar] Precisely what conditions are you laying down? What are you asking the Serbs who are surrounding the city to do?

[Morillon] I am asking, as I was promised, the immediate end to the offensive and respect for the cease-fire agreements and the deployment of observers, the opening of a road corridor, of an air corridor to evacuate casualties by helicopter.

[Amar] General, if you want to address the Serbs through France-2, you can do so now.

[Morillon] I will address the Serbs who trusted me since the beginning of my mission and who respect me: Trust the United Nations; you know very well that we are not your enemies. Understand that it is also for you, the Serbs, that I am here, and that I will stay in Srebrenica. [end recording]

Aid Convoy for Srebrenica To Proceed

AU1503115493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] The UN convoy carrying food and medication for the surrounded Srebrenica, which the Chetniks halted yesterday in Zvornik, will proceed toward its destination today. This was reported at today's news conference in the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR].

The situation in Srebrenica is dramatic, said Peter Jensen, representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Several thousands of refugees from Konjevic Polje and Cerska arrived in this town. Some 20-40 people die of starvation every day.

The journalists were informed that Brigadier (?Corby Simpson), deputy UNPROFOR commander, and Viktor Andreyev, political adviser to UNPROFOR, held talks yesterday with Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the illegal, Serbian semistate formation, in Pale about the dramatic situation in Srebrenica. A letter was sent to the Chetnik leader Karadzic demanding free passage for the convoy with food and medication to Srebrenica.

UNPROFOR expects the air link between Srebrenica and Tuzla for evacuating seriously wounded and sick civilians may be opened today. UNPROFOR soldiers yesterday secured armed escort for 22 convoys throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina that distributed 869 tonnes of food to our citizens.

Serbs Halt Aid Convoy

AU1503103493 Paris AFP in English 1019 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are refusing to allow a U.N. aid convoy to reach the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica as long as U.N. Commander Philippe Morillon remains there, a U.N. spokesman said here Monday [15 March].

A United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman said the Serbs said "no to demands of General Lars-Eric Whalgren", a UNPROFOR commander during a meeting in the Bosnian Serb stronghold at Pale near Sarajevo.

The UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia, General Philippe Morillon, has been in the enclave, in the east of the republic, since last Thursday, and has pledged to remain there to prevent Serbian attempts to seize Srebrenica.

Morillon's Departure Made Condition

AU1503110493 Paris AFP in English 1048 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are refusing to allow a U.N. aid convoy to reach the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica so long as U.N. commander Philippe Morillon remains there, a U.N. spokesman said here Monday [15 March].

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said the Serbs had said "No" to the demands of General Lars-Eric Whalgren, the UNPROFOR commander for the whole of the former Yugoslaviua, during a meeting in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, near Sarajevo.

General Morillon, the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has been in the enclave in the east of the republic, since last Thursday [11 March], and has pledged to remain there to prevent Serb attempts to seize the town.

Saturday, Whalgren contacted Serbian leaders in Belgrade and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Pale, asking them to order an immediate halt to the Serb offensive in the east and the opening of land and air corridors for the evacuation of the wounded.

He also asked for freedom of movement for refugees who have flooded into Srebrenica from outlying towns and villages.

Morillon told French television in a radio link Sunday [14 March] that he was particularly concerned about a 23-truck aid convoy which was blocked from crossing the Drina River border into Bosnia-Hercegovina Sunday by Serbian police near the border town of Mali Zvornik.

"I count on them in particular to ensure that this road convoy, which is still blocked at Mali Zvornik, be allowed through as soon as possible. I repeat that there are thousands of refugees here, some of whom have not eaten for five or six days," Morillon added.

Army Paper Views Croatian-Muslim Conflict in B-H

93BA0686A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 93 pp 13-14

[Article by Dragoljub Jeknic: "The Fight for Provinces"]

[Text] By all appearances, at the beginning of the Geneva negotiations the Croats turned the tables on their erstwhile allies. Fights are flaring up between members of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Army of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], which is loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, and the cause of this state of affairs certainly lies in the conflict of interest between the Muslims and Croats over the proposed division of provinces.

Before us is a map of Bosnia-Hercegovina drawn up by cochairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, Vance and Owen. They have divided this former Yugoslav republic into 10 provinces, just as was done some time long ago. Very few are satisfied with this provincialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. To be sure, the representatives of the Croatian people immediately agreed to put their signature on this division. They have been given Provinces 8 and 3. But the satisfaction of the representatives of the Croatian people is not because they would get those two provinces. On the contrary. They are satisfied with this division because of the unresolved status of Province 10. That is, it is stated that a mixed Muslim and Croatian population lives in Province 10. And that is the essence of the matter.

This suits the Croatian side. They like it because they know that that province will be "entered" in the stock of territory of Croatian lands. Perhaps those who drafted the map in fact had that in mind and so they drew the boundaries of Number 10 exactly the way it suited the Croatian side. These new surveyors did not take into account whether those borders of Province 10 protected the interests of others; what do they care that both Donji Vakuf and Kupres were included, that Jajce is included, and even a piece of Glamoc Opstina, and these are all Serbian lands and territories? All of that was unimportant. The only important thing was to form this province in the way that one day would be the best for a unified Croatia.

The Serbs, meanwhile, will probably find some solution with the Croats concerning the Serbian territories included in that province. But the Muslims? It really does not look good for them.

The Geneva Map of Region 10

Opstinas: Jajce, Travnik, Donji Vakuf, Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca, Fojnica, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Kupres, Livno, Duvno

Ethnic composition of the population:

Muslims	Yugoslavs	Serbs	Croats	Others
145,985	14,354	50,394	167,311	5,576
38.05%	3.74%	13.13%	43.61%	1.45%

Total population 383,620

This province will probably become the battleground of fierce conflicts between Croats and Muslims. To be sure, there have long been conflicts, but what has happened in the last 10 days suggests the drama of real war.

Mostly, the talk is about conflicts between the HVO and the Army of B-H. The conflicts have been fiercest in Gornji Vakuf. However, Muslim and Croatian armed units are clashing in almost all the cities where the Croatian population does not have a pronounced majority. For example, on 14 January there was a conflict in Bugojno. Three people were killed. That same day, public meetings of Croats were held in Kiseljak and Kresevo, which partly belong to Province 10 and which have a mixed Croatian and Muslim population, at which members of the Croatian people publicly expressed the position that they do not want to live in Muslim provinces. They expressed a determination on that condition to realize through armed combat that will of theirs unless there is some other way.

The conflicts in Gornji Vakuf have gone on for days now, and in just one day (16 January) 17 members of the HVO were killed and a sizable number captured.

The Croatian and Muslim forces in this region, by all appearances, are preparing for still fiercer conflicts. This is also confirmed by the accounts of witnesses to the effect that military transports are being stopped and blocked ever more frequently, and weapons, ammunition, military equipment, and the like are being confiscated. In Metkovic and Ljubuski, a large number of trucks were stopped carrying weapons and military supplies from Croatian seaports to meet the needs of the Muslim armed forces. At many other points, individual trucks have been stopped, weapons have been taken, and the drivers have been abused and beaten. At the crossroads for Novi Travnik, on 15 January at 1530 hours the police of the HVO captured a Mitsubishi vehicle with several automatic rifles, pistols, hand grenades, knives, and some ammunition, and they took the driver off to their station in Bugojno and gave him a good beating.

The HVO is on the offensive throughout that entire region. Its purpose, there is no doubt, is to fortify militarily Province 10, which is inhabited by a Croatian and Muslim population, and attach it to Province 8, which also has a mixed Muslim and Croatian population and where there also are fierce conflicts between Croats and Muslims, especially in Mostar.

Who knows whether the Muslim leadership figured on all this and how ready it is to resist the offensive of the Croatian armed formations? It is a fact, however, that orders are being given to the effect of offering resistance to the forces of the HVO. One such order was issued by the command of the 3d Corps of the Army of B-H to subordinate units. That order, strictly confidential, No. 02/33-310, dated 16 January of this year, reads:

"I order that a detailed assessment be made as soon as possible concerning the deployment, strength, composition, and intentions of units of the HVO in their zones of responsibility (on the territory of opstinas). That our own forces be immediately put in a state of full combat readiness and the necessary deployment of forces be made so that defense of positions in contact with the Chetniks not be in jeopardy at any moment, and other available forces be deployed without conspicuous movements so that they can successfully neutralize any attempt of HVO units to conduct a major maneuver of forces without our approval, that is, so that we can deal rapidly and effectively with every attempt of theirs to inflict losses on our forces. Particular attention should be paid to assigning precise missions to units concerning the manner and direction of movement, the creation of blockades (areas, directions, structures, units, and so on), with a view to holding the most important lines of communication and objects on the terrain, and the deployment of our forces should be as loose as possible over the entire zone of responsibility. Should there be an open armed attack of HVO units on our forces, move against those forces vigorously, break them up, defeat them militarily altogether, capture weapons and equipment, and take the land from which they operated against our forces."

As is always the case in wars, orders are one thing and the picture of the reality of the war is something else. Is the reality of the war becoming more and more the nightmare of the Muslim armed forces? Can they prevent Province 10 from passing into Croatian hands altogether? And will the Croatian Armed Forces stop at that or will they go further to capture, if not the entire territory, then at least a good portion of the territory of Province 9, which Vance and Owen on their map have proclaimed a province with Muslim majority? Will the Croatian Armed Forces encroach even on Zenica, Kakanj, Visoko, Vares, zones with major industrial capacities and considerable mineral wealth?

Many are convinced that the Croatian Armed Forces have the task of proceeding precisely like that, to provide the Croatian state in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina Province 10 as a whole and the territory of the opstinas enumerated in Province 9. The Croatian state in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina would extend over a territory several times larger than that to which they are entitled, and the Muslim state in that same former Bosnia-Hercegovina would be left just enough territory for really only one province.

Serbs Attack Biograd, Shell Zadar Hinterland

LD1103160593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by Toni Pajkin from Zadar]

[Text] Because of an artillery attack on Biograd at around 1300, a general alert was declared for this town and it is still in force. Serb rebels fired a dozen missiles from multiple rocket launchers on the town, and we have learned that considerable material damage was caused. According to such official details as are available at present, one civilian was wounded in the chetnik attack.

Throughout the day, Serb paramilitary forces have fired missiles from their strongholds, and there has been incessant fire from light and heavy infantry weapons.

Shortly after 1100, the aggressor launched attacks from Nadin on the Zadar battlefield on Prkos, while attacks were launched from Debelo Brdo on Croatian Army positions in Kasic, Islam Latinski, and Islam Grcki. Kasic also came under attack from Biljane. Between 1200 and 1230, artillery fire from various types of weapons was opened on Jasenice and Maslenica at the foot of Mount Velebit.

The Croatian Army responded to the attacks today.

Fighting Continues in Krajina

AU1403154293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] Croatian artillery and infantry continued their combat activities this morning along the north Dalmatian and Lika fronts, according to the Press Center of the headquarters of the Serbian army of the republic of Serbian Krajina. The same source says that for several hours overnight, Serbian villages in Bukovica were exposed to artillery fire. During the night and this morning the Croatian artillery fired at the areas around Benkovac and Novigrad. The Serbian army is holding the defense lines firmly, and the last 24 hours have passed without any casualties.

On the Lika front, mortars were fired at the positions of the Serb defenders in Vojinovac, [words indistinct], Barlete, and Pocitelj. In Banija, the Croatian army occasionally opened fire from its positions in (Sunja).

RSK Threatens To Expel Croatian Army

LD1403114093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 14 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—If the Croatian forces do not return to the positions they held before January 22, when they launched an aggression on the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), and if they are not forced to do so by the United Nations, we will expel them ourselves, RSK President Goran Hadzic said on Saturday evening.

Hadzic said the above after his meeting with the local authorities of Okucane, which he visited together with RSK Assembly President Mile Paspalj, the RSK news agency ISKRA said.

After two-and-a-half hour talks behind closed doors, Paspalj said that the United Nations "was not strong enough to strike back the Croatian aggressor and the its current pressure on Croatia is only the organization's attempt to regain its good reputation".

Despite the Security Council's two demands on Croatia to halt its offensive on the RSK and withdraw its troops to initial positions, Croatian troops have been attacking the RSK more fiercely and shelling civilian targets every day.

The RSK was proclaimed in pre-dominantly Serb regions of Croatia in 1991.

RSK Soldiers Capture Hungarian Patrol

LD1403225293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Beli Manastir, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—This morning in the area of the village of Novo Nevesinje in Baranja, members of the Serbian Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] captured a two-man patrol of the Republic of Hungary, the RSK Army Headquarters Information Service in Beli Manastir reported tonight.

The Serbian Army Command for Baranja decided to release the Hungarian patrol and hand them over to the Hungarian authorities, which was done right away, despite the fact that the patrol illegally crossed into RSK territory.

Hungarian border organs have been warned that in the future such actions will not be tolerated, and that measures in line with present international conventions regarding encroachment on foreign territory will be taken.

Thirteen Serb 'Terrorists' Captured in Karlovac

LD1303211793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] In a large-scale operation carried out by members of the Croatian Army special forces, territorial defense, and the Croatian Ministry of Internal affairs, 13 Serb terrorists were caught this morning in the Karlovac area. No members of the Croatian forces were killed in this operation; all the terrorists were caught alive. It has already been established that these terrorists were members of the Serb terrorist organization Stit [Shield] and that their Belgrade bosses wanted to infiltrate them into Karlovac and Zagreb. Beside weapons in the vehicle of one of the groups, Croatian forces found the usual

terrorist equipment, propaganda material, strangling wires, large quantities of Serbian and Croatian money, maps, Zagreb maps with plans of action, and address books—probably containing names of their collaborators—but these are not available to the public in the interest of further investigation.

According to the those taking part in the operation, diplomatic-consular offices were among the targets of the Serb terrorists. The terrorists, led by Slobodan Markovic, came from Nis, Belgrade, Mladenovac, Sabac, Zemun, and Nova Pazova [towns and cities in Serbia].

Members of the Croatian Army once again demonstrated their ability and readiness. As for the readiness of the United Nations Protection Forces, this story clearly illustrates it.

Unions Urge Four-Hour Protest Strike

LD1203092893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian unions have called on their members to stop work at noon today to show their dissatisfaction over low salaries and what they consider to be the government's inadequate economic and social policies. The protest strike will last from noon until four this afternoon.

Republic Asks for Exemption From Arms Embargo

LD1203163793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Ljubljana, March 12 (TANJUG)—The former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has asked the United Nations Security Council to exempt it from the resolution adopted last year which banned all sales of weapons and military equipment in the entire former Yugoslav territory.

Slovenian Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle said that in the current situation Slovenia cannot secure even the minimum of its defences and that this "indirectly affects the security of Europe in general."

Peterle's statement is contrary to reports revealed by a number of European countries, including Italy and Austria, which show that major international arms smuggling routes pass through Slovenia.

Adolf Storman, the former leader of the Slovenian Republican Alliance, appeared on Austrian television prior to his arrest in that country and presented documants showing that the Slovenian Foreign and Defence Ministries had sold large quantities of weapons, seized from the former Yugoslav Prople's Army (JNA), to the armies of the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

Storman said that "top officials in these ministries were present at the loading of the weapons into trucks leaving for Croatia and Bosnia," and that "the leading Slovenian, Croatian and Bosnian politicians were aware of this."

The U.N. slapped an embargo on arms deliveries to former Yugoslavia in the autumn of 1991 after the Slovenian territorial defence clashed with JNA over Slovenia's forceful secession from Yugoslavia, and the Croatian forces with the Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and JNA.

Slovenia delivers weapons to Bosnia where fighting broke out between its three constitutive peoples (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) in April last year. Tens of thousands of Croatian regular army members are fighting in this former Yugoslav Republic.

Federal

Foreign Minister Encouraged by Peace Process

AU1203172293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Prvoslav Vukovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vukovic] Mr. Jovanovic, in your view, what was the most crucial moment in the talks between Presidents Mitterrand and Milosevic?

[Jovanovic] There are several moments that deserve to be singled out. What is of key importance is the fact that the direct equation mark has been placed between ending the war in Bosnia and lifting the sanctions. This marks the end of all the attempts that have been and are still being made by some countries (?to attach) new conditions to the (?original) sanctions. Another important thing is the fact that the continuation of talks between the two cochairmen and the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs on the outstanding issues concerning maps has been ensured. Third, if I may say so, Serbia or Yugoslavia, and their official representatives were fully respected as the absolutely necessary and equal factors in the efforts to establish peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and settle the Yugoslav crisis as a whole.

In this respect, the representatives of Serbia, Yugoslavia, and above all, President Milosevic, were fully respected. Expectations were also expressed that his already proven positive influence on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis will continue to be prominent, especially now at this critical time when many threads in the process of resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina have become entangled and it is necessary that those who can positively contribute, like Serbia and Yugoslavia, do their utmost and contribute (?to this). This is a significant encouragement for this peace process. Therefore, this meeting was encouraging and positive from several aspects, although one should not forget that there are many participants in this process and that some of them are proven opponents to the peaceful solution, and they will probably not want to miss the opportunity even now to disturb the movement toward peace and create a new problem that would divert attention from these efforts.

[Vukovic] How, in your view, will the international situation develop further?

[Jovanovic] Do you mean the international situation concerning the crisis?

[Vukovic] [Words indistinct].

[Jovanovic] I would say, it should be marked with further stepped up efforts to find a way out of the crisis in a political way rather than any other. This meeting yesterday also demonstrated that this other military, risky, and adventurous plan is virtually no longer being considered. Those very lonely voices that are still calling for the so-called military option are no longer being paid any serious attention. Therefore, not only has the political solution being accepted, but it is also a solution without alternative. This is what is instilling the necessary tranquility in all of us, as well as to the foreign participants who have real, authentic, well-intentioned interests in the soonest possible settlement of the crisis in a way that would equally satisfy all those who are directly (?involved) in the crisis.

[Vukovic] Thank you.

[Jovanovic] Thank you.

Says Sanctions Unfounded

LD1403154093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1525 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Kragujevac, March 14 (TANJUG)—International sanctions against the F.R. [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia are unfounded both legally and politically, and cannot be maintained any longer, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Sunday.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry is preparing a serious documentation about "dubious circumstances" in which the sanctions were adopted.

The UN imposed the embargo on Yugoslavia late last May, because of the country's alleged involvement in a civil, ethnic and religious war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The presumption that Yugoslavia, that is Serbia is the aggressor and the most reponsible for the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has never been proved," said Jovanovic.

"The unproved presumption has meanwhile become senseless as the entire international community officially declared that a classical civil war was going on in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina."

He said Serbia, that is Yugoslavia, has not been mentioned anywhere which is an "implicit recognition that the initial premise was incorrect—this is what we claim—or has become foundless in the meantime."

Jovanovic said the latest report by Tadeusz Mazowicki, UN special rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, "shows his commitment to a partial policy on the Yugoslav crisis."

Mazowiecki has because of his religious convictions turned against the Serbian people in the current Yugoslav crisis, he added.

Mazowiecki, a devout Catholic, blamed the Serbs (Orthodox) for the atrocities, ethnic cleansing and human rights violations in Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic said Mazowiecki had already been known by his hasty, unconfirmed and generalized conclusions, and was criticized also from the instances where his reports were discussed.

Army Chief Says Aggression 'Hardly Possible'

LD1203123193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 12 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—"Aggression on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is hardly possible in the existing conditions," Army of Yugoslavia chief of general staff, Col. Gen. Zivota Panic has stated. Gen. Panic said in an interview published in the latest issue of the Belgrade magazine DUGA that "only threats" were involved now.

"We view what is being done now as a form of pressure aimed at achieving some goals which they have not accomplished so far as they had planned," Gen. Panic said. Gen. Panic said the United States would "with great difficulty decide to send its troops to fight in parts of the former Yugoslavia where Serbs live," since he said that "could prove fatal for the administration which sends the troops" because of heavy human losses.

The Yugoslav chief of general staff said he hoped the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not take a turn due to which the Supreme Defense Council of Yugoslavia would, acting in line with its constitutional powers, take a decision on the engagement of the Army of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Gen. Panic said that Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs "do not need help from the Army of Yugoslavia to achieve their goals" in the territories they hold.

Gen. Panic described the U.S. operation of parachuting humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina as a "propaganda move aimed at showing to the American public that the U.S.A. is a great power." Gen. Panic said the inclusion of Russia in the U.S. humanitarian operation was due to the "Russians" wish to be present in the Balkans alongside of the U.S.A. Gen. Panic said the operation "is not positive for Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs" since he said the aid was mostly directed to Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims.

Blockade of Danube River Postponed

LD1203125093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The blockade of the Danube, announced by the Independent Trade Union of the Yugoslav River Shipping Company, has been postponed for seven days, a TANJUG correspondent was told today by Dusan Strugar, general manager of the Yugoslav River Shipping Company. [passage omitted]

Effect of Sanctions on Textile Industry

93BA0677A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 93 p 11

[Article by T. Jakobi and M. Brkic: "The Czechs Have Taken Our Place, but They Cannot Compete With Us"]

[Text] Yugoslavia's textile industry is working today at one-third capacity. But 80 percent of that output bears the "stamp" of Centrotekstil. At the moment, 200,000 pieces of clothing are sewn in Serbia, and they will all end up in the 130 stores and 26 fashion houses of this marketing system. "We are able to do that because we have been successful in rounding out the entire production cycle," says Miloje Srejic, general director of Centrotekstil, a joint-stock company.

Leather, wool, or chemicals have been furnished for most of the 250 factories in the leather and textile field with which Centrotekstil works. Domestic raw materials are assembled at points in Serbia and Montenegro, and Centrotekstil also offers its partners the services of a fashion design center.

"Since last October, we have been operating as a joint-stock company, and we carried out the ownership transformation in the light of the experience of our foreign partners Salamander, Bos, and Puma," Director Srejic says. "In the course of that effort, we also worked out a new form of pooling capital. Our producers have become stockholders in Centrotekstil, and our capital is invested as shareholding capital in numerous factories. For example, we are already stockholders in the Raska Factory, Viskoza, Leteks, Branko Krsmanovic.... We will also establish the Centrotekstil bank to speed up the flow of capital. When the sanctions are lifted, as a marketing system we will be able more easily to obtain favorable credits for domestic textile factories with our old business partners."

The blockade, incidentally, has hurt Centrotekstil drastically: Last year, they exported textile and leather products worth $58 million, and imported $46 million. And all of that was done before 1 June, when the sanctions took effect. Director Srejic says that the embargo has meant $300 million of lost business. "In good times, we grossed about $1 billion," Srejic laments.

"We are still maintaining proper contacts with foreign partners, there is no business, but the German partners, for example, have already begun to collaborate with producers in the Czech Republic," the director of Centrotekstil says. "I am certain, however, as soon as the blockade is lifted, that we will renew the old business ties with customers in the outside world. After all, we have collaborated for many years, and we also have on our side a value called quality. The producers in the Czech Republic are geographically closer, but it will take them a long time to achieve the quality to satisfy German customers."

Sales last year on the domestic market amounted to 23 billion dinars "and that is a fairly large sum." There are still firms in Yugoslavia that are doing well, and Director Srejic mentions Kostana, Rudnik, and Javor as suppliers which have filled Centrotekstil's stores.

"We are still relatively well-supplied as a marketing system, and we can offer goods for everyone's pocketbook. There are days, however, when no more than three or four people go into a store. But a few days later that same store will be overwhelmed with customers. The explanation is simple: The public has learned to buy when the exchange rate is favorable. Our analyses show that the turnover of expensive goods is so good as to be surprising. In our society today, there is a stratum of whom it is said 'the rich are getting richer.' That fact is behind our idea of opening currency exchanges in Centrotekstil's fashion houses, whoever comes to exchange marks will not be able to resist buying something," Srejic says.

Ownership transformation and adoption of the profit philosophy were in part a move forced upon them, because they realized in Centrotekstil that after the blockade is removed, socialized marketing of textiles and leather accessories will lose the race with the private sector. "My opinion is that the future lies in joint and private firms," Srejic says.

"Look at some of the socialized marketing firms. They have stores in the center of Belgrade and keep them empty, while the private stores are full of goods. This period is not going to last long. In our business, the market will be the sole barometer of a firm's success. We have noted that private operators have emerged in the production of textiles and leather. Those are not large firms, but they do quality work. They do not have the luxury of investing capital in just anything, but only in a project that brings a quick return. Centrotekstil has also begun to work with them, it is obtaining leather and wool for them, and is taking over their finished products," Miloje Srejic says.

Data on Saving Interests in Belgrade Banks

93BA0669E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 8

[Article by B. Stepanovic: "Interest Rate Less Than the Rate of Inflation"]

[Text] People who decide to put their money in banks in order to protect it to some extent from losing its value to inflation have a diverse choice. Interest rates which banks are offering on dinar time deposits or for the purchase of certificates of deposit are, to be sure, mainly less than the officially measured rate of inflation, but they are certainly a much better alternative, in that the value of the money is preserved at least in part, than to keep it at home. "Money in the sock" at galloping inflation of more than 100 percent is the most certain way of having nothing left from present capital in a few months.

Here is a survey of the interest rates offered by the largest private, mixed, and socialized banks on dinar time deposits:

Dafiment Banka pays 150 percent in dinars on a 90-day time deposit and 180 percent on a six-month deposit if the interest is withdrawn monthly, or 195 percent on maturity. Panonija Komerc Savings Bank pays an interest of 100 percent on a one-month time deposit, 155 percent for 90 days, and 195 percent for six months. These two banks are the only ones whose monthly rate of interest exceeds the rate of inflation.

Karic Banka pays interest of 71 percent on a three-month time deposit if the interest is withdrawn monthly and 75 percent on maturity. The interest is 72 percent on a six-month deposit, or 77 percent if the interest accrues until maturity. The monthly rate of interest is also 72 percent on a one-year time deposit if the interest is withdrawn monthly or 80 percent if it accrues until maturity.

Trgovacka Banka pays 50 percent on a deposit for one month, 65 percent for three months, 68 percent for six months, and 69 percent a month for a time deposit of one year. The interest is 70 percent on the purchase of certificates of deposit with a 95-day maturity, but if they are cashed before maturity, the monthly rate of interest is 60 percent.

Kredibel Banka allows money to be put in a time deposit for even 15 days, with a monthly interest rate of 60 percent, and then 71 percent for one month, 76 percent for two months, and 73 percent for three months if the interest is withdrawn monthly and 76 percent if the interest is allowed to accrue until maturity. The interest on a six-month time deposit is 76 percent if the interest is withdrawn monthly and 90 percent if it accrues until maturity.

Vojvodjanska Banka offers a monthly interest rate of 65 percent on a 10-day time deposit (18 percent over those 10 days), a monthly rate of 46 percent on a 15-day deposit, and 65 percent on a one-month deposit. The rate of interest on a three-month deposit is 70 percent if the interest is withdrawn monthly and 77 percent if it accrues until maturity. The interest is 72 percent on a six-month time deposit when the interest is withdrawn monthly and 80 percent if collected at maturity. The interest for one year is 90 percent per month.

Union Banka pays an interest of 53 percent for a time deposit of one month, 65 percent for three months, and 70 percent per month for six months.

MB PKB Banka pays an interest of 70 percent on the purchase of certificates of deposit with a maturity of 30 days, this bank offers savers the possibility of foreign exchange savings, except that the monthly rate of interest of 30 percent is paid in the dinar equivalent at the current official rate.

Kolzeco pays an interest of 55 percent on a one-month time deposit, the interest is all of 150 percent for the entire period of two months, and total interest is 310 percent on a three-month time deposit.

Investbanka offers an interest of 85 percent per month on the purchase of certificates of deposit with a maturity of 95 days, or 66 percent if interest is collected before maturity. The interest on a time deposit of one month is 52 percent, 60 percent on a three-month deposit, 65 percent on a six-month deposit, and 66 percent per month on a time deposit for one year.

Beobanka pays a monthly interest of 87 percent on a 95-day certificate of deposit, but if cashed before maturity, the interest is 67 percent. The interest on dinar time deposits is somewhat less—50 percent for one month, 54 percent for three months, and 55 percent per month for a six-month time deposit.

Jubanka DD [joint stock company] pays an interest of 51 percent for a one-month time deposit, 61 percent for a two-month deposit, and the interest is 72 percent per month on deposits with maturity between three and six months, 73 percent for deposits with maturity between 12 and 24 months, 74 percent on deposits with maturity between 24 and 36 months, and the interest is 75 percent per month for a period over 36 months.

Problems With Chemical Fertilizer Production

93BA0677D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 16

[Article by V. Djurdjevic: "Fertilizer—Hit on the Black Market"]

[Text] According to Dr. Miroslav Malesevic, one of the best experts (in the younger generation) concerning the soil and crop practices of stubble grains at the Institute for Field Crops and Field Crop Practices in Novi Sad, wheat is in a critical state. Between now and the first days of March, it has to be fertilized at any price.

"I take full responsibility when I say that this is the most important job in the FRY economy at this moment. About 70 percent of the wheat is in a very good state at this moment, and the rest, as far as I know, is satisfactory," Malesevic says.

Plants Thirsty for Nitrogen

"Because of the rain, the nitrogen went a bit lower down this fall, to deeper layers, so a young plant cannot get to it. That is why wheat is in a critical phase at this moment, and if it does not get adequate fertilizer or even if it gets the fertilizer later, the yield will be poor. If farmers could set their eyes on 60 kg of 'pure nitrogen' per hectare, that would be just the right thing...."

Experts in this "branch" do not like to make very definite estimates of yields. No one knows what is going to happen in the factory under the open sky, even when all the measures "of this earth" are taken. It is well-known that we will have a poor yield if we do not fertilize the wheat right now.

Stated more freely, we could expect solid yields (this fall, about 840,000 hectares were planted to wheat, which is one-third more than a year earlier), that is, enough bread grain to meet our needs, to feed all the Serbs in the Balkans and to export about a million tons! That would be our first large export this year, even if the blockade were removed.

According to the calculations of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce, and also of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, to produce enough food to meet all our needs and export some, we need to plant about 2.7 million hectares during this farming year. (That includes what was planted to wheat last fall, but does not include vegetables.) And if that job is to be performed successfully, one of the things needed is about 650,000 metric tons of fertilizer (324,000 between now and April and the rest up to the end of June). Along with the fuel, and we know what is happening to that, this is the most painful point in this production at the moment.

Dr. Ratko Lazarevic: "Only 60 Percent of the Fertilizer"

It is obvious that the sanctions, which in appearance are humanitarian, but actually are cruel and are aimed at starving the Serbian people, are adjusted so that we cannot produce food. (To prevent us from getting what we need and what is indispensable to food production.)

In January, the Government of Serbia made a decision to provide the nitrogen plant in Pancevo, the sole producer of ammonia in the FRY, enough fuel for the production of ammonia. It called for the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] to provide the foreign exchange to import raw materials without which the job of making fertilizer and the chemicals for plant pest and disease control is simply not possible.

The Federal Chamber of Commerce also recently "made a determination" that the nitrogen plant in Pancevo immediately needs to be supplied the gas it needs and that the government, that is, the NBJ, would intervene in providing $40 million in imported raw materials for the production of fertilizer and the same amount in dollars for production of chemicals for plant pest and disease control. The calculation is not bad; however, it is not happening. Hardly anything is being done about supplying fertilizer to agriculture. At yesterday's press conference in the FEC [Federal Executive Council], Dr. Ratko Lazarevic, federal agriculture minister, said that we will supply about 60 percent of the fertilizer needed for this spring's work as a whole, as compared to last year. In his opinion, that is not enough, because the last two years fertilizer consumption has dropped from about 1.3 million to only 700,000 tons, or to half. We will be consuming slightly more than half of the normal

half this spring. So, about one-fourth. This is hazardous for grain, which is indispensable to us and to the country's economy as a whole.

At Agrohemija, we were informed that matters, even after decisions of that kind, demands, appeals, and so on, are hardly moving off dead center. Today, they say, an important meeting will be held in Pancevo so as to finally begin the delivery of gas and the production of ammonia. Perhaps the meeting will be attended by Sajinovic himself, who, beyond dispute, understands very well the situation of industry, and, we believe, that of agriculture as well. Cveja Mijatovic, deputy director of Agrohemija, warns that the production of these production supplies for agriculture should have begun considerably earlier if anything was to be achieved.

This way, the uncertainty is complete. However, the fertilizer market (and that also applies to petroleum, foreign exchange, and so forth) is operating at full power. Here and there, we heard in several places, there is fertilizer. Some bought it earlier in order to resell it, others import it in some magic way, except that its price is three or four times higher than the one proclaimed as the official price. Nor is that so-called market price, which is actually the black market price, realistic, and the price prescribed by the state is not realistic either. Within that "gap," honest people are being hurt, honest peasants who consider the fieldwork they do in the spring to be their sacred task.

They are being hurt while the responsible parties haggle over the delivery of gas, fertilizer, chemicals for plant pest and disease control, petroleum, and similar things. The government cannot do it, but it can be done by those who are not the government, but through their own channels and at their own price. We are playing games, and the experts warn, particularly in the case of wheat, that we could get a great deal for little, barns full of wheat for the entire Republic of Serbia, for all the Serbs in the Balkans, and even to export about a million tons. But for want of a little we also could lose a great deal. So let us go on playing as usual.

Expert on Islamic Issues Discusses B-H War

93BA0676A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 9

[Interview with Dr. Darko Tanaskovic, professor in the Department of Oriental Studies of the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, by Radmila Stankovic; place and date not given: "Bosnia Even Surprised Itself"]

[Text] A book entitled *U dijalogu s islamom* (*In a Dialogue With Islam*) by Dr. Darko Tanaskovic, professor in the Department of Oriental Studies of the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, undoubtedly one of our best experts on Islam, was published recently. In that book, which more accurately is a collection of his articles written over the last 10 years, Tanaskovic offers a fundamental and finely shaded analysis of events on the soil of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] of which Milorad Ekmecic, member of the academy, has said: "For all the betrayed expectations and disappointed hopes, Tanaskovic predicted this tragic evolution very early."

[Stankovic] However accurate Ekmecic's observation might have been, it seems that nevertheless you were unable to suspect this kind of tragic finale in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Tanaskovic] I have been very reluctant to make predictions about development of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and have always done so with the reservation that it is extremely futile to forecast anything very definitely and in detail concerning this manifoldly complicated former republic of Yugoslavia. Incidentally, more than once it has surprised the entire world and even itself. The same reservation still applies today, but there is an equal urgency to the need to think about the immediate and more distant future.

Missed Opportunity

I based my moderate optimism concerning the possibility of total warfare being avoided in B-H, in spite of all the adverse internal and external circumstances, on rational arguments. From the moment Yugoslavia split along lines of ethnic divisions and enmities, I was firmly convinced that B-H, which previously was called "Yugoslavia in the small" out of affection, could not survive within the present borders as a unified, unitary, and "civil" state.

It was not reasonable to expect that the disintegrative mechanism of ethnic divisions and splits would by some magic stop short at the Sava and Drina, beyond which a Bosnian idyll of civil democracy among the nationalities and equality of all with all would begin. The chance for a unified Bosnia, as well as for peace in it, was remaining in some form of Yugoslav community, which, immediately before the open war broke out, was in fact understood by the Muslims in the minority MBO [Muslim Bosnian Organization] who proposed the thwarted "historic" agreement with the Serbs.

From the human—and also in religious doctrine from the divine—viewpoint, war is in and of itself unacceptable and horrible, because it destroys human characteristics and destructively dehumanizes man. In political terms, however, when not viewed humanistically, wars, including this one in B-H, are not meaningless at all, as one frequently hears people say. I based the hope that war among the nationalities of B-H would be avoided primarily on the assessment that the political leadership of the most numerous of them, the Muslims, not only would be the least able to formulate rational and attainable war objectives, but that precisely the vital interests of the Muslims, and before and above all others that key interest—the very existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina—would inevitably be fatefully threatened by war.

[Stankovic] To what extent has the position of the Islamic world contributed to this situation in B-H—more accurately, affected the decisions of the Bosnian Muslims?

[Tanaskovic] On the whole, the Islamic world followed the initial phases of the disintegration of the SFRY rather indifferently. Only the countries immediately interested, for example, Turkey and Albania, made themselves heard (and also acted) to a somewhat greater extent. The key decision of Alija Izetbegovic's government to set out on the road of open confrontation with the Serbs and to burn all bridges to some third Yugoslavia was decisively influenced by promises and assurances from the West, our own west, and that of Europe, that in that way, following the example of the Slovenes and Croats, the Muslims would get more than just a few months before they could even have dreamed of—an independent, sovereign, unitary, and internationally recognized (and thereby also protected) state in which they would be the bosses.

They had long aspired to that through a will articulated in diverse political terms either as the ideal of a "nation state" or, on the other hand, as the first step toward establishing a Balkan Islamistan on the road toward a utopian world unity of the Muslim "nation."

The Blind Alley of the "War Option"

The outbreak of war in B-H and its unfavorable course for the Muslims in every respect (except that of propaganda), brought the entire quarreling Islamic world together in political terms under the banner of solidarity with those "European Palestinians," which undoubtedly, along with the increasingly clear American predisposition, encouraged Alija Izetbegovic, who had already become lost and passed the point of no return in the blind alley of the "war option" and who was ready for (or forced into) suicidal jihad obstinacy and the sacrifice of his own people, on behalf of an at least eschatological fulfillment of his mission of statehood which he had announced and commenced without thinking it through.

Certain Islamic states, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan before all others, wholeheartedly embraced [as published], in both their own interest and that of Islam in general, took advantage of misfortune in all ways, whether permitted or not, and supported the unprecedented self-sacrifice of the Bosnian brothers in the faith, whose true belief, incidentally, had earlier not been held in such very high esteem in the Islamic East.

[Stankovic] Is the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina really a religious war, as more and more people are saying?

[Tanaskovic] In Bosnia-Hercegovina, there presumably is no longer any dispute about it, three human communities are waging a bitter war for territory in which the object is full control over a certain space that would be as ethnically homogeneous or homogenized as possible, with overt or covert intentions of creating states. Between the Muslims on the one hand and the Serbs and Croats on the other, the only essential difference is that the Muslims, at least officially, are still waging war to realize political control over the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that is why they do not accept an unconditional cessation of hostilities, which at this point would suit the Serbs and Croats.

The Religious Watershed

Ultimately, in an "X-ray" view that goes deeper, the war in B-H is in fact a religious war. The longer it lasts, it will be that to an ever greater degree, especially for the Muslims, because the living religious archetype becomes immediately relevant as the collective and individual motives for the conflict with one's neighbors extend roots into ever deeper and deeper layers. But the main watershed between the three ethnically kindred, and to some ethnically identical, B-H nationalities is, as is well-known, precisely the religious difference, that is, the faith to which they belong.

Looking at the surface manifestations, the characteristic symbolism and also the rhetoric used in mobilization propaganda, which is being used ever more openly by the Muslim side in B-H, not to mention all over the Islamic world, indicates the spread of the jihad perception of the war which is being waged and the self-perception of the fighters (mujahedin) who are taking part in it as shehidin (martyrs). As soon as Islam entered the politics of the state by the front door, this kind of ideological and psychological involution was inevitable.

[Stankovic] In what respect is the Islamic world unified, and what are the differences with respect to the war in B-H?

[Tanaskovic] The Muslim world is completely unified only at the level of a common sense of the obligation of Islamic solidarity with the threatened brothers in the Christian diaspora. After all, that obligation arises from the very foundations of the Islamic system of values, and besides it need not cost much. Even at the level of taking a collective political stand, there are differences among the various countries depending on a number of factors, but so far those differences have been successfully surmounted in balanced declarations (primarily in the OCI [Islamic Conference Organization]), in which they are mainly careful not to collide openly with the views of the United States, which in the case of Bosnia has not been hard to do.

Not a single Islamic state has so far had sufficiently strong reasons, independence, and strength to destroy the harmony of institutional expression with its dissonant stance. The differing approaches, interests, and views of the various Muslim states and groups of states are much more noticeable in what they do and say individually. Some of them (for example, Libya, Iraq, and—somewhat more timidly—Syria and Indonesia) do not hold back from questioning even the justifiability of the overall strategy of the Islamic world taking sides uncritically in connection with the war in B-H, while

certain others (for example, Iran, Sudan) attack both Serbia and the United States equally.

In principle, the Muslims will always support other Muslims against non-Muslims, but not against their own immediate and vital interests. At the level of realpolitik, then, it is all a matter of the changing political environment.

[Box, p 9]

Izetbegovic Led the Muslims Into War

[Stankovic] How do you assess the negotiating position of the B-H Muslims at the moment, above all that of Alija Izetbegovic and Haris Silajdzic?

[Tanaskovic] Alija Izetbegovic, the undisputed leader of B-H Muslims in the year that followed the multiparty elections in 1990, out of a desire to go down in history as their first great creator of a state, and representing himself to the world as a statesman of the first water, led his people into a perilous war. The rationalization that that war was probably an inevitable stage in the rise of an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina, to which at one point he resorted in order to share his own responsibility with Providence, certainly will not protect him from the glaring gap between the size of the illusions he evoked and the painful Muslim sobering up in the disastrous trial of war which is still going on.

Still necessary as a figure covering the fictitious legitimacy of the power of a trinational state that does not exist, but has been given international recognition, the president of its puppet monoethnic presidency can hardly make an independent decision any longer about anything essential, nor maintain control of the situation, nor even gain an insight into it.

The statements of his traveling emissary Haris Silajdzic, who at one time was valuable and penetrating, and who practically never returns to the state in which he is a minister, are increasingly pale and have been getting less notice from the media in spite of their undiminished diabolical imaginativeness.

They are waging the war, but the peace, when the time comes, will in effect be negotiated on the Muslim side by certain other people, regardless of where they will be sitting and what status they have at that moment, and perhaps Alija Izetbegovic will sign something. Those new negotiators will probably be tougher and more hostile than the author of the Islamic Declaration, but they at least will be able to make, and will have to make, decisions that they will not be forced to go back on the very next day and which finally will be implemented. If necessary, even under the pressure of the international community.

[Box, p 9]

The Solution Is Only Now Becoming Discernible

[Stankovic] What are your immediate, but also long-range, predictions of how the situation in B-H will develop?

[Tanaskovic] The Bosnian crisis has finally, as might have been expected, come before the highest forum of the international community, the UN Security Council. Although in international forums "at the moment it is not intelligent politicians and diplomats who have the last word, but tiny business agents called ministers" (R. Samardzic), it is realistic to assume, because there is no higher level, that the Security Council will impose acceptance of a definite solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The war can no longer be tolerated, but it will continue in one way or another unless the solution adopted eliminates the main reasons that brought it about, and that solution is just becoming discernible in its principal coordinates. To some extent, the plan of Vance and Owen respects those coordinates, but in many respects it essentially abandons them in order to achieve an asymmetrical compromise. In all likelihood, the Serbs will be called upon to make (considerable) territorial concessions (to the Muslims), and the Muslims will be called upon to make political concessions (to the Serbs and Croats) and territorial concessions (to the Croats).

If acceptance of the model of B-H contained in the (modified) plan of Vance and Owen is imposed, along with the threat of severe sanctions for failure to implement it, a provisional territorial, governmental, and legal state of affairs will be brought about, which is certainly better—but only as a temporary solution—than continuation and escalation of the war in the spring. A permanent solution still has to be painstakingly quarried.

Presentation of New Military Vehicle

93BA0673B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Feb 93 p 5

[Article by B. Solesa: "New Military Vehicles Presented"]

[Text] Yesterday, at the Army of Yugoslavia's firing range in Belgrade, journalists were shown the "Tara 4 x 4" field vehicle and the FAP [Pionir Automobile Plant] 14176 truck, intended for the Army, the basic characteristics of which are robustness, reliability, economy, and high mobility.

How did it happen that a country under a blockade produced a truck whose civilian version is worth about 53,000 German marks, and whose military version is even worth 160,000 German marks, and at the same time a much cheaper field automobile? Svetozar Avramovic from FAP even claimed that those prices were 30 percent lower than those for foreign vehicles.

Milan Mitrovic, an engineer from FAP, explained that a team he headed had done what it could have done a long time ago, but it was unnecessary because in the former Yugoslavia the people in Maribor at TAM [Automobile and Engine Factory] were responsible for it. Now, the people at FAP have even outdone the ones at TAM by producing a better-quality and cheaper truck. For that job, some of the people in that design team even received special awards for innovation and ecology. The vehicle is equipped for conditions of snow, swamp, sand....

Another unique feature of this vehicle is that a version of that truck is being prepared on which it is possible to mount Oganj or Plamen multibarrel rocket launchers, which will make that vehicle into an exceptional weapon.

Serbian Defense Minister Marko Negovanovic was not in the mood for long commentaries, except for praising the demonstration as an exceptional one in times "when everything is impermanent, when everyone's position is being shaken, as well as the entire state." Since Lt. General Milorad Dragojevic is the person who headed the Yugoslav team that made the successful domestic M-84 tank (which has brought hundreds of millions of dollars on the foreign market, and whose technical innovations are actually state-of-the-art), the interview with him lasted much longer and was not only on "driving" topics. Specifically, General Dragojevic is a representative of the Yugoslav defense minister, since Milan Panic, former federal prime minister and defense minister, no longer holds that office, and a new minister has not yet been selected.

There is interest in that vehicle in both the economy and the Army.

[Solesa] How do you assess the speech by Air Force Commander General Bozidar Stevanovic in Zemun, and are you having any consultations with the civilian authorities in connection with establishment of the Federal Defense Ministry?

[Dragojevic] The Defense Ministry is a body defined by the existing system and the Constitution, and there is nothing to comment on.

[Solesa] Do you think that it is entirely in Radoje Kontic's jurisdiction?

[Dragojevic] Yes. Consultations are being conducted, as you know. We are the army, and we have our own clearly defined place.

[Solesa] Are you acting as the defense minister?

[Dragojevic] I am only representing the minister. I consider myself a professional, and as you know professionals do not have much to do with that.

Sanction Effects on Rubber Product Factory

93BA0678A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 p 25

[Article by Z. Panic: "'Tigar' in Pirot at a Turning Point: The New Course of an Enterprise"]

[Text] The rubber giant "Tigar" in Pirot stopped several days after introduction of the sanctions and, since 8 June of last year, the majority of the workers have really been on compulsory annual leave. Only 1,000 of 4,800 employees are working; this represents 5 percent of the utilization of total capacities. "Tigar" deputy director Ljubisa Mitic says that this is tragic for this formerly very successful collective.

"The situation is worsening from day to day," says Mitic. "Production is only partly working, and the import of production material has been made completely impossible. The shackles of the economic blockade are tightening, and with these measures the rubber industry is affected most, and so it is with our enterprise, which is 85 percent oriented to imports and exports. Since introduction of the sanctions, production in 'Tigar' amounts to only 3 or 4 percent. In December of last year production increased a little bit, so that the reserves of production materials and semifinished products existing at that time were used up."

The largest RO [work organization], "Auto-guma" [automobile tire], which shared in 85 percent of the total production of "Tigar," is in the most difficult position. Now this percentage has been cut in half and its activity has been reduced only to the sale of products that were found among the reserves. However, the reserves are melting away from day to day. The second half of revenues are provided by other programs classified as priority, such as the programs of the plants for glue, technical rubber, and utensils, which are in great demand on the domestic market.

"The utilization of capacities is tragic," emphasizes Mitic. "We cannot even think about imports and exports at this moment. 'Auto-guma' requires 15 containers of production material daily, of which 13 are imported. 'Tigar' is condemned in advance, due to the fact that rubber falls into the classification of goods that are under control, or the transport of which through our country is forbidden. Therefore, exports are out of the question, and it is also difficult to sell goods on a very shrunken domestic market.

"The newly evolving situation has forced us to think about a new course in the enterprise," says Ljubisa Mihic. "For example, our 'Auto-guma' has based its development on cooperation with American partners and the use of their license and technical assistance, but all that is lost now. We must seek an outlet in activities that have never been our focus, only in order to survive somehow. We are thinking about trade in other goods, about opening a savings institution, a bank, engaging in shipping and insurance. We must develop strategic aims

on a parallel track, production under conditions of the blockade even if it is interrupted, but that's not easy to do. We are now in a phase of seeking resources for the fifth of the employees who are working and earning and for those who are on unpaid leave. 'Tigar' has secured its wages from all sources up to now, but it will already be uncertain tomorrow how to provide funds," concludes Mitic.

Rampant Tax Evasion on Goods Reported

93BA0678C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 p 25

[Article by E. Kukic: "Remunerative Trade in Fuel"]

[Text] Evasion of the turnover tax is such a widespread phenomenon that it is more difficult to find those that do not attempt to shortchange the state in this way than those who do so regularly. The amounts are not minor, and the means by which the evasion is carried out are varied. From delaying paying the tax, through indicating incorrect figures on turnover realized, to engaging in an activity for which a certain enterprise is not registered. The greatest evaders are private commercial enterprises, but the social sector is not immune to this type of "crime" either. Altogether 38 policemen in the Financial Police of Moravicki area (Cacak, Gornji Milanovac, Lucani, and Ivanjica district) have too much work to succeed in "covering" more than a part of those obligated to pay taxes.

Along with such general observations on the previous work of this service, its coordinator, Nikola Pavicevic, also offers concrete figures on the evasion and the evaders discovered in the last quarter of last year and the first months of this year. In October the Financial Police, by checking 137 (of 8,066) taxpayers, discovered evasions of over 208 million dinars. Conspicuously, the greatest evader is Radivoje Jeftimovski, owner of the Cacanj enterprise "Grandkomerc," against whom a court investigation is now in progress. Through "Stocar" [cattle breeder] in Cacak, he imported 72,000 bottles of whiskey, and sold 36,500 bottles without paying a turnover tax. In this way Jeftimovski, in the first 10 months of 1992, deprived the state treasury of 147,800,000 dinars. During this period, the Financial Police also came across the trail of a far smaller evader, Slobodan Protic of Gornji Milanovac, who, dealing in petroleum, avoided paying a tax of 24 million dinars. Large quantities of goods without the necessary papers, the value of which exceeds 22 million dinars, have also been discovered and confiscated. These goods are most often clothing from Turkey and Novi Pazar, cigarettes, gold jewelry, and alcoholic beverages. It is interesting that 32 bedroom sets, which allegedly traveled from Ljubljana to Macedonia, ended up in Cacak. December of last year was also fruitful. Tax evasions of 329,570,000 dinars were discovered, of which 172 million dinars is attributed to the "Gospeks" private enterprise in Cacak, which is engaged in trade in gasoline and other petroleum derivatives. Tax evasion (32 million) is also attributed to the private enterprise "Autoremont" [auto repair], likewise in Cacak, which produces and sells coffee roasting machines.

January of this year was significantly more meager than previous months. Nikola Pavicevic says that 200 million dinars in all of unpaid taxes were discovered. The list of evaders included the PKS Chemical Industry in Cacanj, which, engaging in trade in petroleum as a supplemental activity, evaded 66 million dinars in taxes.

The Financial Police are placing great hopes in February. The results up to now have been "extraordinary." Right at the very beginning of the month, a large evasion of 470 million dinars was discovered at the "Sindelic-Vujovic" private enterprise, which has also been concentrating on trade in fuel.

The coordinator of the Financial Police of Moravicki district mentions that the sums cited are really much higher because a daily interest of 2 percent is compiled on them.

Serbia

Leader To Urge Bosnian Serbs To Resume Talks

LD1203222593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 12 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has promised to use his influence with Serbs from Bosnia and the Republic of Serb Krajina to persuade them to resume the talks towards finding a peaceful solution to the conflicts in Bosnia and Krajina, Fred Eckhard, the spokesman of Yugoslavia conference co-chairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen said on Friday.

Eckhard said that the Serbian president had promised this to the two mediators during their talks in Paris on Thursday, which were attended also by French President Francois Mitterrand.

All three warring sides in Bosnia (Moslems, Serbs, and Croats) should return to New York some time next week, Eckhard said, to resume the peace talks which had stumbled over the issue of the division of Bosnia into ten provinces.

A delegation of Krajina Serbs was due in Geneva on Monday to continue talks on resolving the crisis triggered by Croatia's aggression on the U.N.-protected area of Krajina in January and the extension of the mandate of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) which expires this month.

Vance and Lord Owen, who assessed the Paris talks as very useful for the peace process on Bosnia, returned to

New York on Friday. They will inform U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali about the latest developments, and it is expected that the U.N. secretary-general will release a more detailed statement about the situation regarding the negotiations these [words indistinct].

Vance Satisfied With Talks With Milosevic

LD1203174193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—U.N. envoy on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance said he was well satisfied with his talks in Paris on Thursday with President Slobodan Milosevic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the FRANCE PRESSE quoted him on his return to New York on Friday.

Vance who, together with Lord Owen, co-chairs the Geneva-based international conference on former Yugoslavia, said certain progress had been made in the Paris talks, which were sponsored by French President Francois Mitterrand.

He further said he expected Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to come to New York on Tuesday to resume talks on peace for that war-wracked former Yugoslav republic. He hoped Izetbegovic was coming to sign the proposed map of a Bosnia-Hercegovina divided into ten semi-autonomous provinces largely along ethnic lines. The map has been [words indistinct] Vance and Lord Owen as part of their overall peace package for Bosnia.

Vance said the Bosnian Serb delegation was due in New York on Monday.

Milosevic 'Very Satisfied' With Paris Talks

AU1203202493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Milorad Komrakov in Paris on 11 March—recorded]

[Text] [Milosevic] I believe that we can assess the first part of talks as very positive, especially the ones held this evening. It goes without saying that a far more objective picture is being drawn regarding the general situation in our country. This is precisely what we need. In place of all other commentaries, I would like to convey what our public should know—simply interpret a very clear and decisive position of French President Mitterrand tonight. After a very long debate, in which we primarily raised the issue of sanctions and their untenability, the French president, without any ambiguity, literally said that if the war in Bosnia ends, then the sanctions will end, too. This is tremendously important for us and fully matches our policy, since we also pursue the policy of peace—that is, a policy that is aimed entirely at achieving peace on all Yugoslav territories and primarily in Bosnia- Hercegovina. We expect this peace to be a lasting and just one. However, we also expect that the position will be maintained once peace is achieved—and we will do everything to see that it is achieved—and that the sanctions are abolished. This is extremely important for our economy. I do not think there is a need to explain what a great achievement this represents in the way Western countries view the Yugoslav crisis. In this sense, I can say that I am personally very satisfied with the talks that we held here in Paris.

Another equally important matter concerns the fact that since the very beginning, we maintained the position that the issue of maps is one that should be agreed upon by the three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Numerous proposals exist regarding making certain adjustments in adherence to the principle of equal protection of the interests of all three sides and I expect, and this has already been stated today, that the legitimate representatives of the Serbian republic—that is, the president of the republic Kardzic, commander of the army Mladic, and their associates—will travel to New York as quickly as possible and continue negotiations on the maps with Vance and Owen. I hope that these talks will be successful and that they lead toward a final adjustment of the contents of the Vance-Owen plan, and therefore, toward the final end of this war and the simultaneous end of sanctions. This greatly encourages all of us and I am hoping for its success.

[Komrakov] Thank you, Mr. President!

[Milosevic] Thank you!

Comments on External Pressure

AU1203182693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Open talks in the Elysee Palace on 11 March lasted nearly two hours, which were to be continued at a working dinner later. President Milosevic granted several interviews throughout the day. Before the informal part of the talks was to begin, he also spoke to France 2 television channel. The first question was: Does the fact that the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina are recognized in the Vance-Owen plan provide a solid basis for continuation and good conclusion of the talks?

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] This is the only correct basis on which a lasting peace can be established. It goes without saying that the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be resolved by equally acknowledging the interests of all three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They must all be equally respected and affirmed, and their legitimate representatives must reach a final solution through consensus. This is a prerequisite for a just peace, which also means that if a just peace is achieved, then there will be no need to implement the agreed upon solutions by force since the consensus of all three sides and equal protection of the interests of all three sides would eliminate the need for the forceful realization of such an agreement.

[Unidentified correspondent speaks in French with passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian] Mr.

President, can the pressure from outside, the ultimatums, result in a failure of all this?

[Milosevic] External pressure simply spoils the atmosphere for a solution because the solution to the crisis is not support for just one side. The solution is to help all three sides find a joint solution.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you are in a city where not so long ago on the walls of Paris there were posters showing you next to a dictator, namely Hitler. How do you feel about this kind of poster?

[Milosevic] In this city there have been so many good things throughout history that I cannot judge Paris on the basis of these nasty little things that may appear here.

[Correspondent] As a man, how do you react when you see pictures of people suffering in Sarajevo?

[Milosevic] As any other citizen, if I had seen what is conveyed by the media, then I would very likely be in favor of intervening against the Serbs. Unfortunately, your media very often broadcast lies. I would like to tell the French people that it is not true, it is not fair, it is not accurate, and that very likely the protagonists of such a policy will be the object of scorn on the part of their descendants when the truth becomes known to the public.

[Correspondent] One last question: Mr. President, is it true that Serbia's military strategy would be to export the war in the event of Western military intervention?

[Milosevic] From all that we have seen, from all that has happened, one can conclude by looking at the facts that from the beginning, Serbia has always been the champion of a peaceful solution and that the Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina has many times entered into a unilateral cease-fire. The side that would really like to bring about foreign military intervention is the side of Mr. Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency], the Muslims. Since the beginning of this year, the Muslims have waged a big offensive in eastern Bosnia and around Sarajevo to obstruct the Geneva peace conference and provoke a military intervention. This is practically the only way where the Muslim side believes its survival lies. However, the international community did not swallow this idea very easily and did not opt for a military intervention. Nothing can be resolved by force in a civil war. This is a war between three sides, and it can only be resolved through a consensus of the three side, but definitely not by applying force against any of these sides.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr. President. [end recording]

Milosevic's Arguments Against Maps Noted

LD1403143493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1408 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Kragujevac, March 14 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia presented persuasive arguments why Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs cannot accept the offered maps during the recent Paris talks with French President Francois Mitterrand and co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen, President of the Parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs Momcilo Krajisnik said on Sunday.

Krajisnik said in an interview to Radio Kragujevac that the above was confirmed by the somewhat softer stand adopted by Owen, who Krajisnik said had stated in New York after the Paris meeting that the proposed boundaries of the provinces were provisional.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be divided into ten provinces under the Vance-Owen plan.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs have not accepted the proposed maps because a third of them would be left outside the Serbian provinces, because they would get only 43 percent of the territory although they legally own over 60 percent of land in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and because they would get only a fifth of the energy and other natural resources.

Krajisnik said that the delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs was trying to reach an agreement with Vance and Owen on the postponement of its arrival in New York, scheduled for early in the coming week.

Krajisnik said the postponement was sought because the parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs was scheduled to meet at the end of the week and the delegation needed to get the parliament's approval for the acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan.

Institutes Protest Statements by Seselj

93BA0677B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 93 p 8

[Article by O. Nikolic: "Summary Court Martial for Science"]

[Text] Insisting on rationalization of the educational system, Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], recently declared in BORBA that an effort should be made to "reduce the number of institutes that are completely unproductive and are not creating anything for society," whereupon he referred to these scientific institutions as "unnecessary": the Social Sciences Institute, the Center for Philosophy and Social Theory, the Institute of Comparative Law, the Institute for European Studies.... That assessment and description could not go unnoticed and without comment by those "whose names were called."

As to the statement itself, Dr. Dragomir Pantic, director of the Social Sciences Institute, believed that it is typically partisan and alien to the institute, because there are no politically committed people in it, and ideology was driven out of it long ago. "There was a time when we had difficulties and experienced serious crises on that account, long before Seselj himself did. Party pressures will never force us to give up the thematic and objective study of our society and the unbiased study of phenomena," Dr. Pantic stressed.

In his judgment, abolishing the institute of which he is a director, along with the other "kindred institutions," "would inflict irreparable damage, especially because such institutions are difficult to reestablish later, and under the conditions of the sanctions, we have maintained ties with the world, so that if we were shut down this would evoke a great surprise from our colleagues in the world and certainly would assume a political dimension." In any case, in 1993 this institute is celebrating 35 years of its operation, and it was established as an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research institution. It consists of five centers: the Center for Research and Political Science and Public Opinion ("it conducted surveys in advance of the election, and it is natural that we had to reproach party leaders, because we did not wish to be 'little mirrors in a fairy story'"), the Center for Demographic Research, the Center for Sociological Research, and the Center for Economic Research.

Testimony on the Depth of the Crisis

Dr. Bozidar Jaksic, director of the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, believes that irresponsible political statements, whose purpose is self-advertising of the political activists, are striking evidence of the depth of the social crisis. For that reason, this director says, it would be best to wave away without comment the statement by Dr. Seselj, president of the SRS, which passes on to Milika Ceko Dacevic responsibility for the problems of education. However, this is a person who is a professor at the University of Pristina, and it is not clear whether there are people even there who "are abusing their official position to perform their political tricks."

"Since its founding, the Center for Philosophy and Social Theory has been the target of various political bigwigs and ideological hatchet men. They are all political has-beens now, and the center, today the institute, is continuing to do serious work. The gentleman who proves every day that he has turned from a victim into an executioner wrote at one time: 'Never, no matter what happens, will I use the methods of Muhic.... I would be ashamed, I detest Muhic's complexes and deceptions.' Let the public decide how much he has kept his word, but I warn him and his ilk," Dr. Jaksic said, "that the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory will be a 'hard nut to crack' and even stronger and more powerful, but not better, have already broken their political teeth on it."

In the opinion of Dr. Vladimir Jovanovic, director of the Institute for Comparative Law, "there is no place for Seselj's idle prattle, because in a time of change the institutes are extremely valuable, and it is absurd to talk about rationalizing and abolishing them, because they are essential to every true state. If the president of the SRS is thinking about better performance of the institutes, that is something about which we can talk," comments the director of the Institute for Comparative Law, "but it is pompous and pretentious just to say 'it has to be this way—this will not do.' Incidentally, we are not any burden on the budget, I think that the institutes for research in the social sciences are stepchildren. This is obviously a political assessment by a man who at one time worked with the institutes.

"In any case, the founder of this institute is the federal state, not Serbia, and under the new system the institutes are not financed, but programs, so that if the work does not go forward, the financing can be withheld. And the financing is so minimal, personal incomes in the institute have reached the level of personnel in firms with an elementary education," Dr. Jovanovic explains, along with the comment that "today, when we want to keep pace with Europe, it is a bad idea to abolish institutes which even Switzerland and Japan, for example, established several years ago. Incidentally, these specialized institutes exist everywhere in the world."

The Truth of the Party Instead of Science

"If Serbia and Yugoslavia want some kind of modern development, and if they hope for that kind of development," then, in the opinion of Dr. Djuro Kovacevic, director of the Institute for European Studies, "no serious man can claim to take the place of science and offer his opinion and partisan truths as something beyond appeal and as a very condition of development.

"I can confidently say that we are short of personnel capable of engaging in basic theoretical research, that we are lagging behind in that respect, and that this could be extremely serious in its consequences if the sanctions continue to be pursued against the FRY. Shutting down institutes would signify the loss of any basis for thinking through in theoretical terms the strategy for society's development and defining it in rational and measured terms, for identifying the general interests of society, for examining development opportunities and potential in all domains of social development, and it would signify a further provincialization of this region," Dr. Kovacevic warned, adding:

"I have not become aware as yet that Mr. Seselj represents the state, although even he, like anyone else, has the right to say what the interests of the state are.... It is certain that some moves in the direction of a rational positing of a strategy for the development of sciences in our country are indispensable, but there is no question that harm is done by those moves and efforts which instead of a strategy for scientific development offer a summary court martial of science as a substitute."

Causes of Bread, Flour Shortage Examined

93BA0687A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 pp 12-13

[Article by P. Ursic: "Bitter Words for the Serbian Government"]

[Text] *The latest increase of 66 percent in the price of bread is still too low for the producers; Bakers for the first time take loans to buy raw materials.*

The contract between the French company Caves Byrrh and Russia for the export of 3 million liters of French vodka to the Russian market, or the fact that they are freezing to death in Mongolia this winter, although Mongolia has coal reserves estimated to be among the largest in the world, would be, under different conditions, considered to be almost bizarre world news. But not at the moment, when the "European breadbasket" risks being left without bread. It sounds cynical, but many citizens of Nis would envy even the poorest families of Subotica, to whom the brothers Djordjevic, owners of a company under the same name, daily and with the help of the Center for Social Work in Subotica buy and deliver bread and milk. Due to the shortages, bread was sold on the streets of Nis at a price two times higher than in the stores. However, its official price, even with the latest increase of 66 percent on the average as approved by the Government of Serbia on 3 February, is still too low for the producers. Those from the private sector have halted production or drastically reduced it using the same explanation as the Podgorica bakers, who are taking forced vacations. At the same time, the social sector is trying to prove that the present price level does not even cover half of the cost of production. Thus, it is not unfounded to expect that the "Nis trend" will spread to other cities of our "native and dignified Serbia." To make things worse, reports say that even stale bread sells well on the street.

According to Djordje Stanimirovic, director of "Zitozajednica," the increasing shortage of bread and flour are the result of the unreal approach to determining the price of flour and bread. "Mr. Radoman Bozovic," added Mr. Stanimirovic, "took this problem off the government agenda several times and should bear the responsibility for the fact that children call their parents at work to tell them that bread is not to be found anywhere, and for the fact that the entire baking industry finds itself in a situation that cannot be tolerated any longer."

The trade association, made up of the mills, the baking, and the pasta industries, believe that since the price of bread continues to be under a regime of price control, the government is being too slow in correcting the price, and when it does, it is only a symbolical amount. The period between 3 November and 6 January, the election fever period, is cited by the bakers as having been especially critical one. The last correction of the price of bread was finally achieved on 1 January after two months of haggling and quibbling.

The bakers justify their discontent based on the indicators that show that the total growth of 17.957 percent in retail prices over the last 14 months has exceeded by almost a third the growth of the price of bread, which in the same period was 13.395 percent. The result of bread price control, while most other prices are not controlled, especially oil products, is that the total cost of production for any baking plant is not sufficient anymore to cover the costs of basic raw materials or the cost of bread distribution. "Never before did the baking industry have to take loans in order to pay for basic raw materials. Now that this is happening, the interest cost will have to be included in the price of bread," said Mr. Stanimirovic.

And, the basic raw materials such as flour, yeast, salt, and additives along with approximately 50-percent participation are actually what make up the structure of the bread price. "Approximately," since no one can really provide an exact calculation due to the fact that "the bakeries were never the ones who established the full economic price of bread as a social provision," as Nikola Lokas, financial director of the Belgrade baking industry, candidly admitted. Roughly speaking, the remaining portion of the retail price of bread is made up of the cost of the baking and transport, or 30 percent, while the stores keep one-fifth of the price for themselves.

Since the state insists that the baking companies pay in advance for flour, and the suppliers of oil products also, the large consumers—hospitals, students' dormitories, and more recently, due to their reduced solvency, even stores, are all late with payments, so this unidentified participation in the total cost has climbed to 50-60 percent.

In regulating the price of flour and bread, the government has followed the regulation on the parity of wheat-flour-bread, which would be acceptable under normal circumstances. In a situation where we have uncontrolled growth of the price of input this is not the case, said those at "Zitozajednica." Especially since the August decision of the government, when parities were changed to the detriment of those costs that should be covered by the baking industry.

According to Mr. Stanimirovic, an additional problem is that even if the government could give away wheat for free, this wheat could not be milled at the price now recognized as cost. Another problem is the cost of transportation from the mill to the bakery. This, and the price of the packaging material in which flour is delivered, cause that price of flour, which makes up 24-25 percent of the price of bread increase another 10 percent, and even more in the case of the aforementioned Nis bakery. Thus, the government's intention to fight the anticipated shortages by, first, buying off the entire wheat crop of last year and then distributing it through the Commodity Reserves Board to the mills for milling, turned out not to be feasible.

According to those at "Zitozajednica," the government has demonstrated its lack of "acquaintance with the

complexity of the subject" by deciding to determine the price of wheat, as an individual product, at a level even lower than the real cost of buying the wheat, the price of storage, and the price of used capital. The recent government decision that the National Bank urgently approve loans to commercial banks which are providing credit to the board, as a key mediator in this entire process, tells us that the bakers know what they are saying.

Bread, thus, is either going to be more expensive or there won't be any, and, for the time being, this is how we could conclude this not so glorious a story. However, the story is expected to be continued any day now when all of the directors of the baking companies gather for a meeting. Any suggested actions that they come up with at the meeting, they will take before both the federal and Republic ministries of trade.

Data on Serbian Volunteer Units in Krajina

93BA0677C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by Srdjan Radulovic: "'Defense of Serbism, Not Politics'"]

[Text] "Wolves From Wolftown," Arkan's "Tigers," Seselj's Chetniks, "Iron Eagles," the "Kosmet-Toplica Volunteer Detachment," the Serbian Guard, "White Eagles"...most of these volunteer units emerged immediately after the war broke out on the space of the former Yugoslavia. From that day to this, however, the question of the status of the volunteers has not been figured out. Patriots or members of paramilitary formations, fighters for Serbism or armies belonging to political parties, the most honorable sons of Serbia or those who go to war for personal advantage? These are all questions and dilemmas that arise or persist as the volunteers "move" from battlefield to battlefield.

The experience of the "Wolves From Wolftown" is particularly interesting. This unit was formed practically from a single part of the RSK [Serbian Republic Krajina], where it went into combat after the Croatian attack. The core of the unit, 65 men, completed training in June 1992 and then set out for western Slavonia.

"This was the first volunteer unit to become involved in the war on the territory of Krajina that came from the other Serbian lands," Miro Mladenovic, leader of the "Wolves From Wolftown" Battalion, recalled in a statement for BORBA.

Many Claim Us

He says that the formation of the "Wolves" was an attempt to create a Serbian army that would be completely free of political and party influence. This immediately resulted in the first conflicts with the top military leadership at that time, but also with a segment of the top Serbian political leadership in the B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] of that time. "We are, above all, volunteers, but aside from defending Serbism and Serbian lands, it is also our objective to create a Serbian army. Because we are politically neutral, that is, we do not belong to any political current, many crop up who would like to claim us or hamper us in our intention of creating a Serbian army. Those intentions have been in vain, as it has turned out, and the attempt to eliminate us was erroneous, because on all battlefields we have shown our military capability, although we do not have regular army officers in our ranks. The strongest pressure on us is being exerted by the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia], who are bothered by members of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], Radicals, and members of other parties in our unit. There is also a certain resistance toward the 'Wolves' in the present Army of the RS [Serbian Republic], as indicated by the datum that the 'Wolves' still do not have the status of a battalion. Thus, formally they are a unit of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Army of the RS," Mladenovic says.

The "Wolves" Bother Karadzic

The "Wolves" have their greatest resistance in Banja Luka, that is, in the center of the region where most of this unit's fighters were recruited, Mladenovic says, because Banja Luka, under the influence of its mayor, Predrag Radic, has become a center of the SK-PJ in the RS, and the main hindrance to the policy of Radovan Karadzic. Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic's Serbian Volunteer Guards [SDG] are often placed in the context of current political conditions in Serbia. In a statement for BORBA, Raznatovic denies that the SDG has any political coloring whatsoever.

"We came here to help the Serbian people, not individuals. It is our honor as Serbian fighting men to fight and die for the Serbian people, Serbian land, and the Serbian Orthodox faith. So far, six of my men have died in these battles, and 31 have been wounded. We wage war and die for what we believe to be the only cause that is right and for unification of the Serbian states. No one can hinder us in that struggle, neither a clique from the SK-PJ, which exists even in Krajina," Arkan says.

And while everyone tips his hat to the "Wolves" for their bravery and decisiveness, in addition to courage, the "Tigers" are also given recognition for discipline. There are various stories about Arkan and his fighting men, from assertions that they have taken power in Benkovac to statements that they came to overthrow the government in Knin. Arkan denies all that, citing figures on the battles in which the "Tigers" have taken part. "If that were true," he says, "would I have allowed my six men to die, so many to be wounded, and several to get frostbite on Velebit?

"For that matter, ask anyone in Benkovac whether my men have caused them any unpleasantness," Arkan says.

Only the Best Opinion of Arkan

And in Benkovac they say that even Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the RS, could not enter the city until Arkan's people checked his papers and inspected the

luggage compartment of the automobile. For some people, this is exaggeration, for others, evidence of a high level of professionalism. Two "Tigers" violated the order banning the consumption of alcohol, and they were punished with 25 blows on the rump. His own men also say only the best about Arkan. "We are certain that we will not be left wounded or dead on the battlefield. The law here is that the fighting man must be taken out," one of them said. "I thought that I could have idols only in music, but now I have seen that there can also be others," says the well-known singer Oliver Mandic, who is the spokesman of the SDG in Benkovac.

Seselj's Chetniks do not conceal their partisan devotion. Jovan Ostojic, commander of the Chetnik volunteer detachment of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] and a deputy in the Serbian Assembly, says that the Serbian volunteers were thrust aside at the outset and have now been seen to be irreplaceable in defense of the Serbian people.

Ljuban Perencevic, a fighter of the "Iron Eagles" (Vrgin Most-Kordun), says that that unit was formed on 8 June of last year, when they wanted to defend the corridor. "We do not care where we fight when the fight for the Serbian people is involved," Ljuban says.

Stories of Serbian Volunteers in Krajina

93BA0661B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 32-33

[Article by Dusan Prelevic: "Volunteers II: Blowing into the Wind"]

[Text] *We are all Ahabs here. Moby Dick is behind the rocky fields of the big mountain. One guardist says that he will smash all the store windows of "Petar Velebit" in Belgrade if that store still has any shoes left....*

Passing through Drvar, which used to be part of Tito's inheritance, we ask the guards at the barriers where the famous cave is. Up there, the pimple-faced soldiers indicate, but why do we ask, they conclude their response. So that we know to hit it with Zolja [hand missile launcher] when we return. All four of us laugh while "lux" steps on the gas. Our jeep is on reconnaissance, like the permit for the bus full of "Tigers." We pulled into Krajina at night. It at least seemed to me that we were arriving in that muffled twilight that is neither darkness nor dusk. It is something else.

A UN "ambush" waits on the downhill slope, but we pass by it in christies without the foreign troops even sticking their noses out of the hut. Dressed in white, they look sanitary. Very sterile. Gen. Ljubinko orders, "Forward."

The next place we cross is Knin. On the radio we hear an announcement from the headquarters of the war presidency, where the new commander of the Krajina military is chosen. Rumors about encirclement, defeatism, etc. are bothersome, it says, but now everything will be set right. I still do not know what is not right, and where. I have not yet arrived at my destination.

With our headlights, we upset passersby in uniform who are moving toward Knin like zombies. Darkness. War.

Cannon fire roars from the sea, but that does not concern us. It is not too loud, and it could be thunder, I console myself.

Velebit protects our men and theirs. They emerge, scouts, patrols, surprise attackers in strange uniforms, mortar and cannon nests, tanks at the base. They say there are gunboats at the sea with 500-mm barrels. I calculate how many centimeters that is.

Benkovac is even gloomier than Knin, I am now able to see. We stand in front of a building that was converted into command headquarters after members of the peacekeeping forces "abandoned" it. Here, peace is an unknown quantity. Only force is respected. We are met by Commander Raznatovic, my friend Oliver Mandic, and taciturn young men from the Guard. Everything is blacked out, the field generator is running because it is evening. What's new in Belgrade? Nothing! Right after closing time at the Club, I packed my things and set out for here. Gaga led the crowd to another bar to buy a round of drinks. I told him upon parting to look after the shop and count the daily receipts. Everyone laughs and says, call him right now on the special line to make sure that he has not squandered the loot! Instead, I call my mother. I am not too close to Knin, am I? No, not at all, I lie, it's safe here. She does not know that I have gone almost to the sea. I slip up—maybe we will go swimming in Bacvice? Anything is possible!

We have a decent supper. The commander of the Guard invites us for juice and tea with optional conversation. Knin is brimming over with uniforms, they stroll here and there and have trouble deciding to help out here. This morning 450 people are withdrawn from the front line. He who moves the Krajina army does not do so with good intentions. The Serbian Volunteer Guard reinforces controls at points, and watches its back.

I have not put on the uniform from 1967. I look at myself in the mirror, and meet a guy who seems familiar. Coba gave me his old belt, knapsack, and stolen American gloves. Passing through, Arkan offers a black wool cap. I brought my boots from Belgrade. I learn the rules: a single volley, talismans in our breast pockets to protect our heart if we are hit. Cigarettes in the pocket—on the sleeve. Arkan's Guard is outfitted according to all the rules of the world. Only the best for the "Tigers."

We all have our hair trimmed to the scalp. That is the rule. My skull reminds me of bygone skirmishes, in the form of scars whose origins I have forgotten. One of them, I know, is from a beer bottle.

Gen. Peja has arrived from Velebit. We grew up in Krst, and now we are stopping the storm from that rocky

mountain. Where are you, soldier, he laughs, and we greet each other silently. We all understand.

The tank crews had a skirmish yesterday, but they withdrew from battle in the early evening. Night is not an ally to armored tyrannosaurs. Several days ago, Peja's tanks acted together with the armed forces. Col. X proposes moving forward under dubious circumstances. Peja is wearing "makeup" and assessing the situation at the moment. My men will not go into the breach, says Col. X. The officer sends his tank to right behind the curve. His maneuver is rejected, and this upsets him. Today, Peja came down from Velebit to the wreckage. Ashes. Nothing but ashes inside. As well as he can remember, there were some kids. These days, the colonel is drinking. To wash these eternal boys from his conscience or to put their souls to rest? Only he knows.

The wind is strongest on these hills. It heeds nothing. It is a storm, but not the kind that we have seen in movies. I always associate storms with sailboats, snapping masts, breaking cables, captains missing one leg as they defy the rain. To me, storms go with Captain Ahab.

We are all Ahabs here. Moby Dick is behind the rocky fields at the top of the big mountain. One guardist says that he will smash all the store windows of "Petar Velebit" in Belgrade if that store still has any shoes left. Humorous. But the mighty wind nips at our shaved heads. We do not know whether it is the effect of the shells or whether Velebit is biting us with its airborne teeth. And we respond to the bites.

Today, Oli rumbled through Knin. He went to get supplies and took two trucks. They ask him there where to put the things, whether they can go in the luggage. He simply yells, "That, that, and that...," and finally asks, but where are the trucks? He even got some sweets. He loads more junk on their vehicle and heads back. Their drivers are there, quietly having supper. They steal glances at us and cross themselves. Oliver is the official spokesman for the Serbian Volunteer Guard. Arkan asks him if he wants a rank. No way, so that everyone will hate me, Oliska grins. He got us some American vitamin pills, so that now we are all pumping up our health. It affects me more seriously than in Belgrade. It is functioning irreproachably. We do not talk about Belgrade. We know that everything in life is "rock and roll."

A truck has stopped at the entrance to the command headquarters. A gray-haired, bearded man in a blue jacket and sneakers gets out, carrying a Scorpion. There is a tall guy with an earring and two other guys. Where is Arkan, we have a present for you! The overall situation does not go unnoticed by me, an alcohol expert. The bearded man is merry, where are you, brothers, how is it in Obrovac, what's up? From Ilijas.

To make a long story short, the bearded man who says that his name is Kica has brought 12 metric tons of explosives. Of tremendous force. They came 1,000 km to bring us the operative material for an "earthquake." If a handful of the mixture is dropped from one meter in the air, then everything around will explode! And they drove the explosives for many kilometers drunk and joking around, asking for cigars. If they had been grazed by a stray bullet in the corridor, we would have had a new Vesuvius. In the Balkans.

Deliberation begins on where to store the deadly cargo. It could blow Benkovac sky high. Soon the truck continues to a safe destination.

We leave them some supper and chat a little with the Casanovas. Someone says that they are dead drunk. I like them. Kica notices the Dunhills that I had in reserve and that represent another link with Belgrade. "Oh, gentlemen, may I?" He lights the cigarette and they start using a little English. "Welcome to the club," I joke. There is no Bosnian accent whatsoever. He seems less drunk than before arriving. He says that he will sleep in a house; he fought here two years ago. He transported arms for Bosnia while Goran Milic's peace caravans were going to Osijek. Everything is strange to me. I leave to join Jusa.

Oliver stays with the bearded man.

"So that guy knows you!" Oli said with astonishment when he came into the room. "He says that you are from the same region, that he lived in Vlajkoviceva. As in Ilijas." The guy is hopeless, he remembers ice skating together, he says that he remembers when I moved onto the street! He left long ago, in 1966, and I recall blond Kica, something of an oddball in those days, a loner and a prankster. Without a beard. And he remembers me, but with hair and a beard. That is how it happened that we sat down opposite each other, smoking the same tobacco, speaking English, but without recognizing each other. He sent word that he would come today so that we can talk.

I am impatient. Because of that I light my next to last Dunhill.

Who says that the wind stops before dawn? I would like to see that person and spit in his direction. No way! The wind never stops here. And even when it calms down, it lies in ambush. Like a hundred wolves. Sometimes I think that jets are flying by, a second time, again, that some animal from the entrails of prehistory is screaming for help, and for the time being I do not feel it. I do not notice it, I do not curse it. That is how it must be with the wind!

There are 13 guys here from the same region. From ages 18 to 20. Children of the Belgrade asphalt. They brought a veteran of the Belgrade cobblestones. One of them is a father. Jusa's son Aca signed up with Arkan's guard together with some friends. We have no choice, go! Jusa sits down with them, chats, and says, "OK, I'm going too." He leads his son's buddies and they set out together. Now he is worried about everyone. As a father and as a friend. Aca simply calls him Jusa.

We talk about that. Where are the fathers of these boys who are fighting with us, he ponders aloud. If they are

worried about their children, why do they not come with us? There is a time for business, careers, marital disagreements. Our children are here. For our entire lives we have been useless to someone. Here is our opportunity to finally be useful to our kids. That is why Jusa and his son Aca are fighting.

Where is the Belgrade "pistol gang"? Sellers of foreign exchange and whiskey? Refugees with Belgrade citizenship? Here it seems to me that there is more of the Belgrade spirit than in many Belgrade divisions. On Knez Mihailja Street, for example. Suca, Vuk, and his wounded son Miljan. Vuk says that the wounds are better now, they are clearing up. This war was created for asphalt samurai. Who is going to screw whom? Putting one's money on this moment. A thousand combinations a second. A race with the wind.

I met a new Jusa. And his Aca who is growing into a real Belgrade guy. Par excellence!

Oliver says that up to now he thought that the epitome was Chick Corea, music, the spiritual value of the piano solo. That he did not believe that he could meet strangers who communicate on the same wavelength without having anything in common in the past. This Mandic is a chameleon. I said that I would not recognize him soon. He says that the Guard is the best band that he has heard and seen in his life. It is an honor to him to be part of it. And he is doing this honorably.

A Benkovac February—Belgrade in February. Have the cats started mating? Here they are hampered by the wind. But it's all right, we will reign it in!

(The author is a musician, rocker, writer, and journalist; he is still in Krajina.)

Experiences of Serbian Volunteers in Krajina

93BA0661A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 29-31

[Article by Momcilo Selic, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Novi Sad City Assembly: "Volunteers I: Universal Soldier"]

[Text] *No one in Krajina is dying of cancer or other diseases these days. Anyone who wants to do so goes to Belgrade and to other regions where death—as in the United States—is experienced as an injustice and a disease....*

Leaning lightly against the wall of a stone enclosure, the dark young man in worn-out, dusty, thin boots weeps. Tears are rare for him; he cannot stop them, nor does he attempt to wipe them away with his hand.

Wiping them away means acknowledging them. He stares ahead vacuously, and Zdenko Tosic and I stand by, caught off-guard and silent. Zdenko knows the young man, a Krajinan, but I know no one in Knin other than Zdenko Tosic, the former head of the Krajina Office in Belgrade who went on a hunger strike when confusion arose concerning the Vance Plan, and when Babic was replaced and the Krajina Office was closed.

The Vance Plan was signed, and wrapped in a blanket Zdenko Tosic lay down in front of the Terazije 3 building in protest. The young man who is now weeping before us in Krajina was also unable to do anything: No one ever asked him, an ordinary citizen of the former SFRY, an ordinary Serb from Krajina, about anything, and his brother was killed at Kasic.

In fact, Kasic has been liberated several times. Once, it was taken by Arkan's people and handed over to its residents, but they—being so unskilled, confused, pressured, and unqualified—abandoned it once again to the Croats, who are now fortifying it, and turning it into another one of their Stalingrads.

From "Stalingrad" to "Stalingrad" to the Final Victory: This appears to be the thinking of Tudjman's people, in their offices for propaganda, military and civilian psychology, or whatever.

The young man whose brother was killed at Kasic is furious, although he tells that to no one. He does not know me, and he has nothing to say to Tosic; everyone knows everyone else, but we are silent because it is wartime.

The chaos, madness, horror, senselessness, and inevitability of war.

A Krajinan in a worn-out camouflage uniform, small, wrinkled, as taut as a stretched cord, fights because there is a war. He came from Serbia about the same time we did, where he recently moved, and his brother is dead too: Once you see the Krajinan fields and olive trees and the enormous, washed-out, blue sky, and once you speak with the local residents and drink a jug of wine, you become well-aware that he had no choice, none whatsoever. Serbia is where he lives and works, but Knin Krajina is home, his fatherland.

Several nights before that, we launched an attack that did not happen because, I assume, someone in Belgrade did not want it. I say "I assume" because I have no proof, but that makes no difference to the members of the reconnaissance platoon from Bratiskovci who went behind the enemy's back on the specified morning of our attack toward Skradin. The 40 of them—frightened, enraged, out of their minds—having barely escaped death by running through mine fields (both ours and theirs), appeared before the brigade command in Djevrske wanting to kill all the bureaucratic rats who happened to be there. They threw—with Dinaric violence—their guns down on the street, and cursed the gods, goats, and Serbian mothers, both their own and those who talked them into sneaking around among the Ustashi all night, waiting for exactly 0600, when we were all supposed to throw ourselves at the Croats, driving them with firepower into Sibenik Bay for a swim.

It was the seventh or eighth day after Zdenko's and my arrival at the Intervention Company in Medjare. From Belgrade, Sombor, Nis, and Leskovac, from Apatin and Novi Sad, hundreds or even thousands of volunteers arrived every day: men as young as 18, distressed fathers of families, and old men of 60 or older. Armed in Bubanj-Potok, we strived, like the scouts from Bratiskovci, to get revenge against the vultures—mostly Catholicized former Serbs from the coast and elsewhere—for their threat to our peace, for all our fallen brothers and friends, for our sisters and mothers driven mad, our fathers rendered insensitive, for the children who only play war games, merrily.... Because there is nothing merrier, and more attractive, to children than war.

Grandfather From Islam Grcki

Reserve Capt. Mirko Popovic (a teacher in peacetime) from the Djevrske area smiles—gently, gloomily, and brightly, all at the same time—and tells me that the day before a man from Islam Grcki had told him this story. (Popovic's eyes are as blue as the sky at the seashore; is there anything crazier that the names Islam Grcki and Islam Latinski? Is there anything that reflects our history more clearly, accurately, and painfully than the plummet of reason—at least human, if not also divine—contained in the names of these two towns of ours, within reach of the Adriatic Sea?) When the Croats entered Islam Grcki, Popovic says, a boy stayed there, together with his grandfather. The grandfather had an automatic gun; he went out into the yard in front of the Ustashi, which they probably were not expecting, and killed three of their soldiers. Then he threw down the gun and said, "I've done my job, now you do whatever you want!"

The captain told me that the Ustashi told the young boy to run into the house and bring out a chair, and to hang his grandfather from the doorpost. But the boy, an eight-year-old, managed to flee through a back room, heading out in any direction until he found soldiers with our flag, and with our songs.

And that is how this story came to us.

As far as we know, Tudjman's military police go from house to house gathering military conscripts. Those who will not go to the front suffer the same fate as the young men whose story was told to us by a sergeant first class in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], Ugljesa Saric.

"On the Dubrovnik front in 1991, near Srdja," Saric said, "I saw their deserters encased in concrete up to below the knees, so that they could relieve themselves in front and in back. They were apparently fed as well, but once our artillery would begin shelling, they would die first, as a lesson to the others. We had to use power saws to remove more concrete so that we could bury them as people."

Saric is a professional soldier, one of the few preserved by the old JNA; he is a wound spring, a big black cat with its ears pricked up, an angry viper. He came back to Krajina, where his people are from, in order to fight, which is his job, after all.

He looks at me, dejected (but secretly), smiles with prominent, round cheeks, and says, "I am a soldier. It is my duty to die, if necessary, but to lead another 30 people to their deaths, that is something else entirely."

We are the 30 people about whom Saric is speaking: residents of Medjare and Djevrske, of Ervenik and other places, and 10 volunteers. We were supposed to attack together with the scouts from Bratiskovci, to drive the Ustashi into the fire from all sides, so that their mothers, dressed in black, would start wailing, so that our people can live in peace, with dry eyes.

In war, as in peace, someone wails while someone rests. For whomever does not know this, or does not want to know, things are nice in Belgrade, even these days.

Who Is Crazy

I set out from Belgrade because I could not stand it any longer. I do not know what kind of ability God gave me to suffer, but it is considerable: depressed, dejected, disgraced, for months, days, weeks, hours, I watched the madness on TV Serbia, Studio B, and TV Politika, read newspapers (I finally threw out POLITIKA and went over to NOVOSTI, which I had never bought before), but it was impossible to see what was being seen or to hear what was being heard. It is true that Knin is 30 hours from Belgrade by bus (the same as Los Angeles by plane), but I came here from Los Angeles two years ago because God ordered me here to be born, just like the young man who cried in front of the Command in Knin for his brother who had died, perhaps unnecessarily.

The house is burning, but grandma is combing her hair.

Our house: from Gospic to Skopska Crna Gora, from the Adriatic to the Timok. A little smaller than what the comrades from the SK [League of Communists]-Movement for Yugoslavia would like, but existing, real, and the only possibility. Perhaps Canada has the desire and the money to make sense of the eternal conflict between its French and English, perhaps Belgium can keep its permanent war between Flemings and Walloons in check, if they do not imitate the Balkan bloodshed, but we cannot do that: We have too many dead people, too many times, for any of us to still have the right to talk about some sort of fraternity and unity, or coexistence.

But grandma is ours too: All of hopelessly, fatally philanthropic, peaceloving Belgrade, which has declared its fear of losing its comforts, and its committee-based, SIZ [self-managed community of interest], and other privileges—and God forbid losing their lives—to be the dogma of the new religion. In Knin I watch some special project with Djindjic, Seselj, Percevic, and Vlade Jankovic, and I do not know if the crazy one is me, the Krajinans, our Bosnians, or them.

Knin is not in the real war either; it is humming with countless soldiers, there are more uniforms than anywhere, everyone is different, Serbian, while at the front the mother of Ljubo Urukalo, from Bratiskovci, looks straight ahead with clenched, colorless lips, her face seemingly chiseled in stone. Her eyes are pale blue, set deep below her brows. For 15 years in Germany she exceeded her quota twice over in order to build a house in Bratiskovci for her son, herself, and her husband, only for the devil to arrive and eat up everything. For that she has no words.

And Ljubo's grandmother, dark, our woman, with dark, gentle, warm eyes, sits and looks at me. She says that she has a son my age. Then she cries for the other son whom the Ustashi, during this war, killed at Beli Manastir in Baranja, after which they cut him into six pieces.

No one dared tell this to Grandmother Urukalo; they only told her about the death, but not the way in which it happened, until someone from the town was found who could express to her in their dry, imprudent stupidity what really happened. Darkness hangs over us, before the electricity comes on at 1900, when we all sit looking at first the Banja Luka daily, then the one from Belgrade, and then our local paper, from Knin.

Croatian Hero

Ljubo's mother listens to the radio all day, all the journal programs, and the news: She is weighed down by them as by black earth, and people similarly overcome do everyday chores around her and do everything else, because death is behind everyone's door, always, and war is unbearable only because it reveals this so impudently, mercilessly, ignobly, and gruesomely.

No one in Krajina is dying of cancer or other diseases these days. Anyone who wants to do so goes to Belgrade and to other regions where death—as in the United States—is experienced as an injustice and a disease, subject to the effects of endless Progress, to repeal, and to the Final Solution.

There is no end without the Judgment Day; they say that Ljubo Urukalo killed his best friend with a PKT [expansion not given], by mistake, while in position. The young man was found with a bullet through his head several dozen meters from the place where Ljubo was trying out his new machine gun. If the PKT had killed him, as any soldier knows, there would have been at least several bullets in his head, because the PKT does not scatter its load at 40 paces; all indications are that the young man, Ljubo's friend, was killed by a Croatian sniper at the same crazy, boundless, timeless moment that Ljubo fired his four rounds.

But someone had to be responsible. The brother of the dead man, a priest, threatens Ljubo Urukalo with blood revenge.

The eyes of Ljubo Urukalo (or Lemic, which is actually the official last name of all Urukalos), the young father of Stefan Lemic, a one and a half-year-old dark-eyed baby, are also dark, darker even than his grandmother's. He lives, because he must, for Stefan, but he constantly sees before him the man because of whom he was sentenced in Knin for involuntary manslaughter.

As far as the Ustashi whom Ljubo has perhaps also killed are concerned, no one talks about that; they came from Listica and Split, from Zadar and Zagreb to swarm into regions that Stojan Jankovic and his Serbs defended against the Turks, after Dalmatia, in the 16th century, lost its Croatian and Roman population. In a Catholic monastery not far from Knin, the monks show off the sword of Vuk Mandusic, from Rupe, as the weapon of a great Croatian hero. When Ljubo, long before the war as a high school student, asked the Croatian priest what connection this Serbian Orthodox from "Gorski Vijenac" has with Croathood, he and the entire class were sent outside and punished with a reprimand. (That was during SFRY days, to remind our well-meaning comrades from the SK-Movement for Yugoslavia, who through their strategic distribution and influence, their public and secret activities, are most responsible for the fact that the Republic of Serbian Krajina is neither alive nor dead, waiting for that sweet, imagined moment of the restored illusion, and of coexistence with brothers who sing, as they did 50 years ago, "Dear mother, how can they blame me, when it is the Serbs from Knin's fault?"

The second night after our attack on Skradin that was not meant to be (only so that there be no "aggression," that someone, somewhere, not get upset and start to yell at us more strongly than they would otherwise), Sgt. Saric came before us with another plan of someone else's: We were supposed to attack Pesica Glava, a fortified hill in the middle of a flat, stony field, within sight of several other Croatian fortifications. The hill had to be attacked—and taken—at night, with our already famous 30 people, and then it had to be held for several days, at any cost, until something unexpected happened, or at least something that we were not told about.

Living Celts

"We will attack Pesica Glava," Saric said looking at us, an Avar from ancient books. "We will fire in short bursts, we will throw bombs, hit the ground, get up, and again fire at them. The approach to the hill is mined—whoever comes across wire or cable should stop and wait for me to come!"

"What about the wounded?" someone asked, and Saric looked at him somberly and said that the wounded would be looked after when there was an opportunity.

A young man with red, Celtic hair and beard, a living Rob Roy with a PKT, convinced the others that all of this was nothing, but Saric's expression said something different, as did that of Capt. Popovic.

"It would be better for us to put a bullet through our heads right away, at least then there would be someone

to bury us, rather than going on this campaign," someone said, under his breath, and no one told him that he was a coward, or something worse.

He who is fearful, they say in Krajina, should lie down and stay quiet; he too will have an opportunity to speak up. No one should call cowards those who are not certain that they will not threaten their fellow soldiers with their bombs or burn their own backs with Zolja hand missile launchers, because there are no such people in Krajina, since they moved elsewhere in time.

"Whoever flees," Saric said, "is more odious and repulsive than usual, and maybe they will get away from the Ustashi bullets, but not from mine!"

Nothing came of the assault on Pesica Glava, just as nothing came of the attack on Skradin. We waited one more morning watching as Djuro—a volunteer from Belgrade whose family is from Krajina—expertly lit a stove so that the somewhat damp winter of the mountains did not kill us off.

Djuro too was a living Celt, a Morlach, red-headed, with an unruly beard. When we were supposed to go to Pesica Glava, he told Saric that he does not see well, and Saric looked at him for a long time with his coal-black eyes and finally said, "Then you'll go with me!"

The third attack that did not happen was an assault on Djurkusa, also a fortified hill, even worse and more perilous than Pesica Glava. Djurkusa had to be held indefinitely under a barrage of Ustashi artillery fire. Apparently, both we and the command in Djevrske (and elsewhere) had the same problem: what to do with the thousands of people who—despite someone's projections and assessment, hopes and desires—were setting out so inconveniently for the Republic of Serbian Krajina in order to defend it against the enemy?

Even within its AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders, says Zdenko Tosic, the Croatian crescent can never be a state without a boundary on the Drina.

Building a new Yugoslavia, Zdenko says, is a crime, even within the framework of the new world order, of which Brozian Yugoslavia was in fact a founding and respected part. Zdenko's eyes are big, a little moist, and blue; in our position we are sleeping in a house that was targeted by a Croatian tank, because the people of Bratiskovci do not dare move into the sheltered building, which belongs to a policeman from Knin, a Serb.

The policeman from Knin does not appear, but the fear of him and of his people does not leave us.

Ugljesa Saric burns behind dark, irritated eyes; his army will not let him be a real soldier, the politicians—in Belgrade and in Knin—will not let him defend the land from which he comes, which is in fact what his profession is there for. Ugljesa, just like Misur, Zdenko, or Ljubo Urukalo, knows—because he has learned it through suffering, and pain—that there will always be dishonor (he set out for the front two hours after getting married, and assuring the Sarics of posterity), and that Progress is only a concoction of new ways for us to do what we have always done.

What We Have To Do

However, what the CSCE, the European Community, the United Nations, the United States, and others are doing to us is nothing new, although it is progressive. They are cutting us up for the sake of their own selfish goals, just as Genghis Khan castigated the Buryats, the Tajiks, or the Russians. The pressure is stronger, but the novelty of our age lies in the demand for participation by the victim in his own abolition. This, unfortunately, is the same thing being asked of us in Belgrade, by our people who have done this to themselves—and to others—for their entire socialist, self-management lives, and to whom every personal loss, especially material loss or loss of status, is a catastrophe, regardless of all the experience garnered from other places and other ages.

Man is indeed an antientropic being, but the only way in which we can be that is by oath: that we recall, if nothing else, the words of businessmen, that whoever does not know what is good chooses what is expensive.

For Ljubo Urukalo, and the young man by the wall in Knin, for Grandmother Lemic and Boja Lemic, for Zdenko Tosic, for Belgrade volunteer Zarko Jurosevic and Kovacica volunteer Zlatko Bajic, for me and many, many others, there is no price attached to our survival: If we do not exist, then most of all God will be denied, the God who created us as a nation of people with a name different from others, with the living fabric of the Immortal Spirit, with a portion of the riches of this world, still enchanted and variegated, worthy of our children and grandchildren.

"Daddy," my elder daughter does not ask me, "will the Americans bomb us?" and I do not tell her, "No, my child, they won't," nor do I tell her, "Yes, my child, they will." My four children are sitting in our apartment on Palmoticeva Ulica and are happy about everything, just like the children in Knin Krajina and Serbian Bosnia are happy because there is life, which can always come to an end tomorrow—some way or another—even though for years my daughter cried at the very thought that death exists, and that inexorably it comes to everyone.

And then I embrace my children, each one separately, and we all know what we have to do.

(The author is an architect, author, and journalist who upon his return from Krajina was elected vice president of the Executive Council of the Novi Sad City Assembly.)

DSS President Kostunica on 'Civil Resistance'

93BA0669A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Feb 93 p IV

[Interview with Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democratic Party of Serbia, by Gordana Susa; place and date not given: "No More Blue Glow in the Windows"]

[Text] "Compared to the spring of 91-92, we are undoubtedly witnesses of a step backward. This is a kind of totalitarian claim, and it must absolutely be opposed with something we call civil resistance. Civil resistance is an attempt to rescue and preserve the substance of a civil society and nothing more than that. It implies various forms of collective and individual activity, but above all a spirit of resistance that exists and needs to be developed in all institutions which are threatened, in the press, at the university.... That kind of civil resistance should above all have its support in the political parties," Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia], said at the beginning of the interview.

[Susa] Use of the term civil resistance movement added something new to Serbia's political vocabulary. You, Mr. Kostunica, were the first to launch that expression, but what is unusual is that up to now the opposition has mainly emphasized the national and democratic interest.

[Kostunica] That idea of a civil resistance movement has in general been misconstrued in that it has mainly been understood as diverse organizational forms of the opposition and activity outside parliament. The forms of political struggle used up to now within that framework have proven to be spent.

I avoid the expression "movement" and stick more with the expression "civil resistance," because the political parties must have a key place in civil resistance. I think that we have an authoritarian regime in Serbia. The democratic system and democratic institutions have been placed in jeopardy by the government of Serbia. That transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime has taken a few steps forward and many more backward. Thus, in spite of all the attempts to create a kind of democratic order through the illusion of parliamentary institutions, that order does not exist. What does exist is an authoritarian regime, which is not the same as a totalitarian regime. An authoritarian regime does not have that kind of ability to exercise control over all segments of life, to suppress even the last possible form of autonomy. A totalitarian regime does not put up with surrogates of democracy, while an authoritarian regime does tolerate them. It even encourages their creation. It is better to create the appearance that there is democracy, and in our country there is a great deal of verbal "democracy." It consists of the possibility of saying more or less everything within the limits of certain reservations and public activity. But there is no democracy when political parties cannot organize freely. And that presupposes equal conditions in the organization and activity of parties, openness of the media, through which party activity can reach the public.

A Left-Wing Illusion

[Susa] Yes, but in modern political theory should not a civil movement also militate against a rigid party organization?

[Kostunica] Well, that is where my view differs from certain others. Even when I use the phrase "civil resistance movement," I do not use it consistently. This is resistance offered by individuals, by institutions, by associations which have a highly developed sense of civic awareness, but in our context, unfortunately, it is not possible to have any kind of linkage of all that, any firm association, something like the Polish Solidarnosc.

[Susa] Why?

[Kostunica] Even if that possibility of associated activity existed, it has been gambled away. The democratic resistance movement is only a surrogate of that kind of broad oppositional activity against authoritarian power. That time in which it was active within its cramped possibilities and with numerous limitations because of its member organizations cannot be brought back and made up, and all that can be done is to strengthen the organization of several essential political parties.

A democratic state cannot exist without law, the courts, parliament, nor can a parliament exist without political parties. Which accounts for the demand that the operation of political parties be financed from the budget. This guarantees their equality and scrutiny of their activity. Talk about social movements is a thing of the past, that is a typical left-wing illusion, nothing but a blank cartridge.

[Susa] But the immense majority of citizens are not organized into parties, but you nevertheless are counting on them?

[Kostunica] Yes, it is not our objective to organize all citizens in parties, but to win them over to the ideas of the party. That means preparing political parties both for activity in public and for appealing to the voters, and it also means preparing for future elections. The elections which are behind us, in which the Democratic Party of Serbia participated reluctantly, choosing the lesser evil, showed if nothing else a number of shortcomings of the opposition. Those are certain things which have to be changed. Without all kinds of ceremonies, proclamations, and announcements. This is an everyday, painstaking, and monotonous fight to develop the appropriate organization of political parties, and that means that they must become stronger above all in the places where they are quite weak. In Serbia, outside Belgrade, in all of Serbia, not just in the cities.

[Susa] You mentioned that only certain relevant parties should play the key role in this. Which ones are they?

[Kostunica] Those which have a key place in DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]. They are the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], the DSS, and the Democratic Party [DS], which is outside DEPOS. There are

smaller parties which are more an example of interest groups and which have not achieved much. I am referring to the Peasant Party of Serbia [SSS], or, for example, the Democratic Party of Vojvodina Hungarians [DSVM]. All those parties, regardless of differences in their programs or internal organization, must organize jointly.

On New Coalitions

[Susa] Translated into the language of practical politics, does this mean that you are announcing some new party coalitions?

[Kostunica] As for coalitions, for now that is a matter for agreement. The DSS favors a kind of radical and consistent criticism of the present government and regime and is not ready to believe that the system can be changed gradually and that that is the most painless way. In relation to the Democratic Party, there is also a difference in positions taken in the program, because we favor the principle of a democratic revolution, in which we differ from those who favor the principle of a socialist evolution. That difference means that these two parties can collaborate only in certain situations.

[Susa] Vuk Draskovic, leader of the SPO, has told BORBA that he does not agree with you and that "time is on our side."

[Kostunica] I nevertheless must say that time is on our side. We are subjected to a steady ruination as a society, but if there is no strength and capability of opposing a regime in an organized way except just another unsuccessful big demonstration, I am against such demonstrations.

[Susa] What forms of organization and activity do you foresee?

[Kostunica] That activity is foreseen both outside parliament and within parliament if the situation in it changes. If we halt and frustrate some of those ominous tendencies which lead toward a total abandonment of the rights of minorities in parliament, for example, arbitrary choice of what can be carried by television, if in some way, by political means, the issue of opposition deputies in the upper chamber of the federal parliament is resolved, because a one-party system has been instituted in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, then we will change the decision about working within parliament. I must say, however, that in the Main Committee we will have to weigh the reasons for participation in the work of the Assembly, even under such unfavorable conditions, because a number of opstina committees which have been exposed to various forms of political repression see protection for their activity when the democratic views of the opposition are heard somewhere at least to some extent, and that is why it is very important to our participation in the work of the Assembly to have live TV coverage of the sessions. Otherwise, complete darkness would prevail, and when complete darkness reigns, it is likely that the consequence of all that will be complete silence.

When I talk about darkness and silence in the Assembly, then my view is that this must be accompanied by a louder voice of the opposition outside the Assembly. The present is such an occasion, but we need to look for different forms of activity, above all in strengthening the organization of the political parties, in turning them toward the voters, in the attempt to offer opposition in local communities, and by taking advantage of the convenience of a small number of oases in Serbia where the democratic opposition has taken power.

[Susa] Yes, but the opposition parties are unified in the position that the government should be changed, and they also agree on what the national interest is. What you are saying now under the head of civil resistance does not offer anything new. The main issue is how to direct the diffuse social energy toward the same objective so that it is not slowed down by friction among the parties and conflicts between the leaders.

[Kostunica] We are going through a kind of reassessment. It is no accident that the upcoming meetings of the political parties will be very essential; I am referring to the Convention of the SPO, to the Assembly of the Democratic Party, and to the Main Committee of the DSS, which will be more than the Main Committee, because as things worked out on the eve of the election it grew into an assembly. Only then, after those meetings, will we see in what ways ties can be reestablished among the principal protagonists.

[Susa] Past experience is not encouraging. The case of the vote on Vozdovac (repeated six times) has upset many citizens, and now they are equally angry at the "position" and "opposition." Are you aware of that? Do you think that something quite new and outside the political parties can be uncovered?

[Kostunica] In our country, all those things are conditioned by our tradition. We have not crossed that first threshold of civic solidarity and awareness. In 1990, a large number of voters did not even cast their vote, and the failure to take part in the second round was frightful. Under those circumstances, we cannot expect any kind of major renunciation by the citizens. We did not have the repression that existed in the East European countries, and that is why we cannot count on such broad civil resistance and disobedience as they had there. The only thing we can do is to improve the organization, link together and form an association of the various institutions, associations, and, above all, the political parties. We are operating under conditions in which university-educated people are less informed today about politics and know less about the purpose of democratic procedure than illiterate peasants knew between the two wars. They know the rules of soccer, but they do not know the rules of the democratic game. Accordingly, we should also have a kind of educative role, we need to constantly repeat certain things, for example, that democracy does

not consist of simple rule of the majority, because if that were the case, the minority would not even be necessary, but democracy also consists of respect for the rights of the minority and restriction of the rights of the majority so that that right does not degenerate into tyranny. Democracy consists above all of establishing certain regulations and rules for both the minority and majority, and all that comes under the meaning of the law-governed state, a government of laws, and the rule of law.

This means that the rules of law are general in nature and are not added to from case to case as the communist government in Serbia is doing now. They differ even from their predecessors, who, as Academician Lukic taught at the university, and his student Ratko Markovic has continued to apply—their point of departure, then, is that laws are an expression of the will of the ruling class—read "of the incumbent party," but even that ruling class which wrote those laws did nevertheless abide by them to some extent. The present government passes laws to meet every need, and that is what is disturbing. The former communists were devoted to their political objectives, ideals, or dogmas, but when it turned out that the dogma was unfeasible, then they slowly departed from it, but there was always the guiding principle of explaining that departure—why self-management instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for example, although basically there was no difference.

Today, there is no need for an explanation and there is no guiding principle whatsoever; there is only mere activity without scruples and morals, which in many respects makes this kind of behavior unpredictable. The former communist leaders felt that there was a different morality from bourgeois morality; for the present communist leaders, the question of morality does not arise, their activity is on the other side of morality, the only direction of activity is power and how to preserve that power at any price.

[Susa] You who are now talking about civil resistance, I do not know how accurate it is, but the story is going around that you were against membership of the Citizen Alliance [GS] in DEPOS.

[Kostunica] That idea of the Citizen Alliance came too late, after they had been flirting with another political party—the Democratic Party. I made no public declaration concerning their membership, but what bothered me about the Citizen Alliance was its association with certain individuals and their superficial assessment that the insufficiency in party activity could be made up for with new leaders, rescuers, from this side of the Morava or from the other side of the ocean. They were then backing the idea that only making Milan Panic the head of the opposition could make the opposition legitimate. Milan Panic did nothing but harm to the opposition. That system of Panic for Cosic, Cosic for Micunovic, as in the story about granddad and the turnip, was supported by the Citizen Alliance; in spite of a great liking for many competent figures in it, from our standpoint that policy was hard to accept.

[Susa] The strongest weapon in civil societies is the ballot. The Radical Party received many votes. How do you interpret that?

[Kostunica] I make no distinction between Milosevic and Seselj. Seselj is closer to the program of Milosevic's party both in his method of operating and in the method of conventional communist operation. Seselj is a bigger communist. To be sure, there is also a layer of fascist whipped cream in that cake, in the exclusiveness, in the inclination to violence, in the attitude toward members of other nationalities, but the principal methods of coming to power are identical, even in many respects more successful than those of Milosevic's Socialists.

[Susa] And finally, what are the possible forms of civil resistance?

[Kostunica] Let us take just one example. Why not form an association of citizens to protect them against the activity of Radio-Television Serbia? If there are various associations which protect both people and animals from various forms of repression, why not an association like that as well.

[Susa] There is the alternative board of directors.

[Kostunica] Yes, but it cannot even be compared to what an association could do. An association makes the individual powerful as against the omnipotent state. Evil can be resisted only if people join together. It is not just a question of paying the TV subscription, but, for example, an association could motivate the public not to watch TV Serbia between 1930 and 2130. So that windows do not get that blue glow and so that it becomes shameful to watch television at that time.

Propaganda in Belgrade University Textbooks

93BA0681D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 pp 28-29

[Article by M.M.: "Textbooks: 'Academic' Propaganda"]

[Text] *There are textbooks at Belgrade University that cannot be distinguished, even with great effort, from primitive political propaganda, and some represent a pure form of denunciation.*

"The greatest drama thus far has been experienced by Yugoslav socialism.... The circumstances that led the way to the rapid disintegration of Yugoslav self-management socialism were: First, the heterogenous composition of the population, with inherited, historic intolerance. Second, the activity of the Catholic Church and the Vatican, which wanted to defeat the Orthodox world and extend its sphere of influence. Third, the powerful influence of the foreign factor, which in its confrontation with socialism wanted to use Yugoslav socialism for certain experiments intended to help defeat the Soviet socialist system. Fourth, one of the most

significant factors was the interests of foreign capital—economic, political, and ideological.

"The critical role in the practical abolition of socialism in a number of countries was played by the disintegration of the Soviet socialist system... (which)... represented a counterbalance to U.S. aggressive imperialism and was a guarantee of world peace and security."

The author then states that the crisis of the (socialist) system affects both the sphere of economics and the sphere of morale. "Consumer logic is spreading. The level of debt, both domestic and foreign, is growing. The people's main preoccupation is how to spend time and consume, not how to produce, create material goods.

"The immediate pretext (for the disintegration of Yugoslavia) can be found in the desire of the most developed countries of the world to create a new world order, in which they would play a dominant role. Among these countries, particular aggression has been demonstrated by the German neofascist system, which saw in the newly created climate an opportunity to realize all its unrealized ambitions, especially from World War II....

"A bitter campaign was launched against the third Yugoslavia, with pressure and extortion, and a blockade without precedent in history was imposed. The ultimatums that were presented to it were unprecedented, many of them absurd, and almost all of them humiliating.

"Among other things, they seek: the replacement of the current leadership, which was legally elected in democratic, multiparty elections; a change in the socioeconomic system and the introduction of capitalism; the holding of new democratic elections, because in their opinion prior elections have not been democratic. Their goal is to keep repeating the elections until obedient leadership is elected that will absolutely obey and carry out their demands, just as this has already been done in other formerly socialist countries. Furthermore, they seek: a "deblockading" of the media; the granting of greater rights to national minorities; the return to Kosovo and Vojvodina of the level of statehood that they had under the 1974 Constitution; no help for Serbs outside Serbia, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who have been violently attacked by Ustashi-Muslim and international criminals, mercenaries from many countries of the world, who are carrying out the most loathsome genocide against the Serbian population.

"Now, Germany and its satellites are working hurriedly on adopting resolutions in the United Nations on the basis of which an international court for war crimes and genocide would be formed. No thought is being given here to the real criminals who have conducted true genocide against the Serbian nation; rather, the intention is to condemn Serbs for alleged genocide against Croats and Muslims, and to force Serbia, which they have designated as the main culprit in the war, to pay for war damages.

"In order to achieve these demands, international organizations under orders from Germany, with the strong assistance of Austria and Hungary, as well as Albania and Bulgaria (our main enemies in World War I and II), have begun to use domestic forces as well—individual party leaders. All legal and illegal means are being used: propaganda, strikes, demonstrations, students, the church, the university, and even the Serbian Academy of Science."

(*Sociologija* [*Sociology*], a university textbook; catalog number 316 (075.8); published by the School of Economics; authors Dr. Predrag Aleksic and Dr. Vlajko Petkovic; the quoted Chapter 7 entitled "Social Revolutions" and Chapter 3.4, "The Drama of Socialism," were written by Dr. Vlajko Petkovic; the reviewers are full professors Dr. Danilo Z. Markovic and Dr. Petar Kozic. The textbook is being used in the 1992-1993 school year and was printed in 1992, apparently before the recent elections.)

In Chapter 11, "Political Parties," Section 10, "The Domestic Party Panorama," the same author states, as if in some sort of political circular: "As can be seen from their names, the majority of political parties are connected and base their political image on the ideas of democracy and radicalism. However, their past activities in practice show that a large number of them do not have much connection with democracy or radicalism, while a number of them have no such connection whatsoever."

In a second textbook by the same authors, entitled *Elementi sociologije rada" [Elements of Labor Sociology]*, a genuine directive is provided in Chapter 8—"Strikes as a Form of Labor Conflict"—under the scholarly heading "Messages and Lessons": "Strikes are our reality.... Society must accustom itself to this reality. The official political team must learn to manage the strike. The best thing would be to study the causes that lead to the phenomenon of the strike and take preventative action so that by regulating them, the phenomenon of the strike can be eliminated." Two chapters earlier, the author does not let himself be swayed by his heart and writes that "somber analysis" of strike practices shows that the largest number of strikes are organized in non-capital-intensive branches of industry.... The "somber analysis" consists of counting the strikes in 1992 while mixing these events with political protests: "Strikes were carried out by workers, metalworkers, textile workers, merchants, students, educational workers, doctors, drivers.... There were protests by mothers with babies, foreign-exchange savings depositors, postal employees, dog lovers, members of individual opposition (sic) parties...."

Concerning the strike at "Ivo Lola Ribar" Holding, it says that it is "unclear whether or not it was even organized," while it calls the GSB strike in the summer of 1992 "phantomlike."

Perhaps it would be best if the sociology exams at the Belgrade School of Economics were not public. Imagine

a politically well-informed student, the type who should be a student at the School of Economics, who draws a question from "The Drama of Socialism" and must repeat these sentences to the professor, mumbling and turning away so that he is not heard by his colleagues who are holding back their laughter. A written exam is out of the question, because children could stumble across such work in the future.

Anyway, this textbook is an outrage.

Government Criminal Activities Attacked

93BA0682C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 p 19

[Commentary by Dragan Veselinov: "Criminal State"]

[Text] When Milosevic promised from his arrogated house that he would move against crime, all of Belgrade laughed. Presumably he will not destroy the state, the cynics wondered.

Is it possible to stamp out crime in Serbia without arresting Milosevic, without disbanding the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], without arresting the majority of the Assembly and the government, the police, and the General Staff? Only then would we come to Seselj, the Jezda-Dafina bankers and directors, the television aristocrats, and finally, the professional bandits and swindlers. Pursuing only the latter means concealing state crime. But a revolution is needed in order to settle scores with this state, not the application of laws, because even the Constitution itself and the laws are works of criminal practice. Even leaving that aside, they have long been a blemish on legal science and juridical tradition, because they violate legal standards and juristic customs. Even if they were good, they would mean nothing in a state of hypocritical rulers.

It will soon be five years since Milosevic illegally moved into someone else's house. One illegal act will soon fall under the statute of limitations. That is what the plunderers of houses, apartments, and land in Belgrade, Hrtkovci, Slankamen, and elsewhere are hoping. Even before the war, they all had an example of how this can be done in Belgrade at the highest level. However, the character of the government headed by the president of the republic is forcing the state to violate laws every day and to enact new ones that are even worse than the ones before.

Who was responsible for the state's plunder of citizens' foreign-exchange savings, who was responsible for the illegal transfer of domestic bank capital, who in the police was responsible for protecting Belgrade dealers in drugs, illegal goods, foreign exchange, and contract murders, who was responsible for the illegal printing of $3 billion in dinars in 1989 and where is part of the accumulated state foreign-exchange reserves, who was responsible for the secret and illegal arms buildup, who was responsible for the illegal, systematic incitement of the population to chauvinism and a fratricidal war—and who is responsible for the illegal war, who is and was responsible for the war crimes, who is responsible for the illegal financing, with Belgrade money from Cyprus, of the anti-Yeltsin nationalist opposition in Moscow, who was responsible for setting up a state system of political deception of the population in the press and on television, who was responsible for the illegal state nationalization of social capital and for taking commissions, who in Serbia is responsible for legalizing the plundered property of the people and enterprises in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, who is responsible for the illegal firing of thousands of people from state enterprises and the illegal hiring of loyal nonprofessionals and refugees who are not citizens of this state, who is responsible for the fact that the state is illegally refusing to pay farmers for their wheat and guaranteed wages to workers—and who is collecting interest on hidden money, who is responsible for illegally spending the pension fund and the health insurance fund, who is responsible for the state's falsification of the elections, who is responsible for the illegal arrogation of Socialist Alliance property for the benefit of the League of Communists of Serbia, or rather the SPS, who is responsible for the fact that Karadzic's foreign, armed patrols were allowed to pursue Bosnian refugees into Serbia as far as Uzice and Knez Mihailova Ulica....

In order to maintain the internal political temperature, it will be necessary to uncover the internal enemies and stage judicial operettas. The party is beginning—hold on, spies, disobedient directors, eager policemen, honest officers, Red Cross messengers, retired murderers, miserly merchants...! You are all the same to this government! Sokolovic is getting a new antibureaucratic revolutionary role: He is becoming Eliot Ness, Fouche is laughing at them.

Milosevic knows that everything is ruined, everything has been pumped dry. And no one helped him to do that as much as the Serbian nationalist opposition, with its theory of a unified Serbia and all Serbs in one state; it is still helping him now.

If a weak rebellion begins to grow in strength, or even a strong one, strong enough to disintegrate the domestic police and army, then Milosevic will fall back on Karadzic and Hadzic. We are threatened by the fate of Spain, which was subjugated by the Moroccan garrison of Gen. Franco. If we remain silent, watching the television broadcasts featuring trials of intentionally sacrificed "spies" and saboteurs, hoping that as long as that lasts the night police will pass our house by—then we will close ourselves off in the prison cell of our own home.

Police, Government Role in Escalation of Crime

93BA0682B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 pp 16-17

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "Crime: 'Bad Cop' Syndrome"]

[Text] *Every anticrime campaign by the state will resemble a farce until those who killed Branislav Matic, beat up and abducted Lero, and stole equipment from NTV [Independent Television] Studio B are found, and until more serious control is exerted over private banks and the flow of money. But who is willing to cut his own throat?*

After the police raid on Francuska Ulica at noon on 17 February, one young hawker provided his impressions:

"Twenty of them came [illegible]g out and immediately lined us up against th[illegible]ey searched us, but they did not find anything [illegible]cause I do not keep my money in my pocket. They [illegible]me go after promising me that next time they would beat me first and only then ask questions and search me."

His colleagues on Sremska Ulica were not so lucky—15 minutes later, in front of the Albania Palace, a parked "paddy wagon" was too small to hold all its intended passengers, and the perplexed policemen scratched their heads while considering what to do with the "technological surplus." The same day, the press carried a report about a success by customs agents: At the Gradina crossing near Dimitrovgrad, a Hungarian was apprehended who was attempting to transport 50 kg of heroin. It seems that the anticrime offensive announced by the Serbian president in his inaugural address is beginning.

The escalation of crime in Belgrade and Serbia is reaching such proportions that it seems as if the campaign in question was launched at the last minute. For example, while 2,000 cars were stolen in Belgrade in 1990, that figure had jumped to 5,000 in 1991, only to again double last year. All other criminal acts are also on the rise, especially the most serious ones: The number of murders and armed robberies in 1992 was nearly twice the number in 1990, to say nothing of extortion by "rackets."

Cops and Robbers

Faced with increasing popular discontent, the newly elected "radicalist" authorities are forced to do something, or at least to create the semblance of some sort of activity. The question, however, is whether the authorities even have the tools for a large-scale campaign. The criminal code is outdated and imprecise, the prison system is often unnecessarily repressive and inefficient, and the judicial system is in collapse. January salaries for judges ranged from 378,000 to 650,000 dinars, so that there is increasing talk of a "quiet strike" in the judiciary (classic strikes are prohibited in that field), because indictments are being held up too long.

The situation with the police is even worse. Nothing has come of the depoliticization announced long ago, and cases of "institutions of law and order" going over to the other side are not rare. Recently at the Horgos border crossing, an inspector with the Pozarevac SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs], Dragan Ivkovic, was apprehended in the company of four "business partners." Found on the detainees were several passports with altered names, "blank" passports, insurance policies, two pairs of license plates, 10,000 German marks, a half a gram of cocaine, and the round seal of the Pozarevac police. In Belgrade, taking foreign exchange away from street hawkers has become a popular sport among some policemen (some street dealers mention a "racket" in the amount of 100 marks a week that they are forced to give "their" policeman), and even a group of employees of the Serbian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] protecting the current head of the Security Administration of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, Nedeljko Boskovic, was caught in this type of act. Moreover, one of Belgrade's best-known heroin dealers, thanks to his cooperation with the police, has been "working" undisturbed for years now, while his buyers, addicts, and petty dealers serve as scapegoats.

Naturally, the "bad cop" phenomenon is not unheard-of or unusual elsewhere in the world. The problem arises when cooperation between the police and the underworld is institutionalized. It is interesting that prior to the arrest of the aforementioned Hungarian heroin smuggler, there had long been none of the once common reports of major seizures by local customs agents. Because it is hard to imagine that drugs from the east were being transported by some other roundabout way and that Yugoslav customs agents had suddenly become inefficient, it is logical to assume that in the interim confiscated heroin did not end up in the furnaces of Obrenovac thermal electric power plant (the crematoria at Novo Groblje having previously proven to be inferior), but rather in some warehouse where it waited for the right opportunity to be used. The Italian press has concluded that the first major conflict between the Croatian and the then-federal police arose when the Croats stopped sending drugs uncovered at the ports of Split and Rijeka to Belgrade. The newspaper IL PICCOLO alleges that the port of Bar and Sveti Stefan has become not only a place to get around the blockade, but also a "meeting place for the trade in drugs and arms."

State and Mafia

As usual, arms show up with drugs. The arms surplus in Warsaw Pact warehouses in Hungary, the Czech republic, and East Germany has found its way to buyers from the former Yugoslavia. Because the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] also had an impressive arsenal, it is clear that an arms surplus is emerging at these latitudes as well. It appears that arms are being used to pay for scarce products essential to a state under embargo.

Nor should one forget the increasingly pronounced smuggling of petroleum. Top figures in the Serbian Radical Party from a city in the Serbian interior had a falling out immediately after the elections, and the most frequently cited reason had to do with fuel. Indeed,

explaining last summer's decision to allow the sale of fuel for foreign exchange, the Montenegrin government noted that "Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic will obtain the petroleum through his private channels." It is hard to find a state in the civilized world that will admit so openly that it tolerates smuggling. No one kept tabs on Mr. Vasiljevic's "private channels," nor was any effort made to at least find out who these people are.

Nor is anyone checking on the source of the money invested with Boss Jezda or Ms. Dafina, so that Yugoslavia had become a Mecca for money laundering. It is not unusual to see foreign investors stopping at the Hyatt with suitcases full of foreign exchange. The banks (and state institutions) are not interested in who they are and where their money comes from. It is true that experts from the Public Auditing Service [SDK] took a look at their books back in October of last year, but the public has yet to be informed of the results of that visit to "leading banks." Regardless of what they found, the SDK inspectors will probably be unable to publicize their findings because, as Ms. Dafina shrewdly observed, "Dafiment" is a "guardian of social peace." There is practically no effort to hide the connections between state institutions and the excessively wealthy banks (Boss Jezda has imported military equipment at his own initiative, for example), and the fact that a criminal pursued by Interpol and half of Europe got a seat in the new Serbian parliament says plenty about the "Serbian rule-of-law state" and about the scope of the aforementioned anticrime campaign.

Organization

Compared to other world capitals, Belgrade has in the past been known as a peaceful city with no organized crime. Experts have said that there is no underworld in Belgrade, but rather an "above-ground" scene, while the police still deny the existence of organized crime. In all honesty, the police does admit that some forms of organization exist in a car-theft ring, where the work is divided among thieves (500 to 1,000 marks for a break-in), the people who procure the papers (2,000 to 3,000 marks), and the bosses who handle resale. The organization is also prominent in prostitution, but the police say categorically that the classic Mafia division of labor is not present.

However, the frequent use of force on the streets of Belgrade serves as a warning. The days of the "great guys of Belgrade," whose names inspired awe in the "initiated" and whose authority maintained some sort of order in the fluid underworld, are irrevocably gone. In a relatively short period of time, Branislav Matic Beli, Djordje Bozovic Giska (who died at the front, but it is heard increasingly that the bullet came from an unexpected direction), Branislav Zubovic Zuba, and Aleksandar Knezevic Knele were killed. In official documents, Iso Lero Dzamba is listed as "missing," although the likelihood that he is alive is negligible, while Goran Vukovic has successfully avoided a series of assassination attempts.

It is not hard to find a system that connects these events. Most of all, all these attacks have remained unsolved. The targets were all people who maintained good relations with each other, all (except Lero) were from Vozdovac, none were known for their "good backing" in the police, nor were they friendly with Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan. On the contrary, Bozovic and Matic were founders and leading figures in the Serbian Guard, a formation close to the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the others were apolitical.

Nevertheless, for now it would be premature to speak of primarily political motives for these attacks. The impression is that they involved the liquidation of those whose individuality was too pronounced for them to reconcile themselves with a possibly subordinate role in the "new order" that is expected to be formed in the Belgrade underworld. The disappearance of leading figures will surely result in temporary anarchy, showdowns, and the emergence of crime stars that will quickly come to the surface and then quickly (and brutally) fade. At a suitable moment, the "big boss" will emerge, whose martial authority, backed up by an entire army of 400 bodyguards, will impress the armed youths. Everyone will get his own territory and assignment, and violations of agreements will be punished much more brutally than in the past. Because the "boss" has long been under police surveillance, the state will have a window into the overall activities of the underworld, will arrest "small fry," and will warn the bosses in time when they go too far. In return, the regime, as now, will always have strong support in the event of a new 9 March and reliable associates in the conduct of its dirty foreign business transactions, smuggling.... Accordingly, every anticrime campaign by the state will resemble a farce until those who killed Branislav Matic, beat up and abducted Lero, and stole equipment from Independent Television Studio B are found, and until more serious control is exerted over private banks and the flow of money. All indications are that the citizenry will have to wait a while for moves such as these. Because who is willing to cut his own throat?

Kosovo

Rugova Assesses Italy Trip, Support

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["Italy, the First European Community Country To Receive at High Levels the President of the Republic of Kosovo"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—His Holiness, the Pope Giovanni Paul the 2nd, the Premier Amato, the Foreign Minister Colombo, and the Chairman of the Foreign Commission Carilio had separate official meetings with the President of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova. They have expressed their support for the solution of the question of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of Kosovo, said before Albanian reporters at a press conference in the Rinas Airport right after his return from a working visit in Italy. After a presentation of the grave situation in Kosovo, he voiced his optimism that the question of

Kosovo is taking now its real dimension, it is supported by countries of the European Community. Highlighting the fact that Italy is the first country of the European Community to officially receive a senior official from Kosovo, Dr. Rugova said to reporters he talked there on an installation of UN troops and a protectorate in Kosovo and the legalization of the right of the population of Kosovo to receive humanitarian aid. Italian officials and the Pope Giovanni Paul the 2nd had supported him in his opinions.

In reply to the questions of the reporters on the concrete results of the 10 point peace plan he has presented a few time ago, Rugova said that the Italian officials agree to accept most of them since now and to make their contribution to a peaceful solution of the Albanian question. He said that the good relations between Albania and Italy are a positive factor which has had a significant influence in the results of his visit to Italy. He was against the demand of the Albanian Socialist Party for an withdrawal of the current government. He considered as successful the work of the Albanian Government and the demands for it to withdraw as groundless. This not only does not serve the Albanian question in general but it also does not serve the political stability of Albania.

Ideas, Strength of Kosovo Albanian Leader Cosja

93BA0673A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Feb 93 p XI

[Article by Milos Antic: "Alternative to the Alternative"]

[Text] He has started a political dispute with Albanian leaders Berisha and Rugova, spread the idea, not of a partition, but of the annexation of Kosovo to Albania (and other Serbian territories to boot), and has reached the very center of public attention. Admittedly, he was in that focus before now as well, but in other ways, primarily as a prominent figure in Albanian literature.

Redzep Cosja, writer or politician, father of the Albanian nationality or eccentric, rebel or favorite of the former communist regime in Kosovo and Albania, lone "ranger" or leader of Albanian intellectuals, top literary figure in the area of Albanian studies or a socialist-realist "whose work has inevitably fallen in the water for several years," a leader of the opposition to the already existing Albanian opposition and the current Serbian and Yugoslav regimes, or a drowning politician who is grasping at straws, a warmonger or a secret fighter for the partition of Kosovo, a unifier or disunifier of the Albanian nation?

These are only some of the extremes in the framework of which this Pristina academician's name has been mentioned in recent days, and especially since his new breakthrough onto the political scene, which he has now reached by engaging in open and merciless polemics with Albanian President Sali Berisa over the fate of the Albanian national question, as well as one of his statements suggesting a partition of Kosovo, or more precisely, the separation of the Albanians and Serbs in this region.

No one can criticize Redzep Cosja for not always keeping to himself. He has not even allowed his fellow intellectuals to come close enough to him. He has cooperated and is cooperating only with a narrow circle of his own mostly subordinate colleagues, who studied under him or received their master's degrees and doctorates under him. For the rest, he has remained a "remote eccentric," who can always be surprising. That is how most of his colleagues view him, and so far he has not done anything to try to refute it.

Redzep Cosja was born in 1938 in Plav in Montenegro, where he was first educated. He came to Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] and Pristina in the 1960's, in order to study in his mother tongue. He graduated in the Albanian language and literature from the Philosophy School's Albanian studies department. In what he now calls the occupiers' Serbia, he was soon offered the opportunity to obtain his master's degree, and his doctorate even more quickly. He received his doctorate on the literary work of Albanian writer Aleksander Stavr Drenova, better known under his pseudonym Asdreni. Since Albanian intellectuals who had come from Montenegro and Macedonia were particularly fashionable in the 1970's with the Albanian political communist leadership in Kosmet, Redzep Cosja became their favorite. He quickly became an academician, from the very founding of the Kosmet Academy of Sciences and Arts, as well as director of the Albanian Studies Institute. No one had to give him any "homework" in that position. He realized himself that he was assigned there in order to work on unifying the Albanian intellectual identity, while the politicians were completing the other practical work.

What is characteristic of him is that he has decided for himself when he will appear in public. He received publicity in Albania whenever he wanted, since until about 10 years ago he represented the conscience of the politicians at that time, who publicly declared themselves to be for fraternity and unity. After 1981, when the so-called progressive forces in Kosovo at that time called upon him to speak out against what was then characterized as Albanian nationalism and irredentism, he stubbornly kept silent, even for five or six years. He presented many Albanians with a dilemma. They wondered whether his silence meant approval or protest. When he finally decided to speak up in the mid-1980's, he chose his favorite topic of the threat to Albanian intellectuals. He wrote that in his book, *The Morphology of a Campaign*, which he printed privately in Belgrade, since no one wanted to print it. At that time, that attitude of his encountered a polemical reaction from critics at RILINDJA, ZERI, FJALA, and other newspapers and magazines in the Albanian language. His compatriots asked him in amazement what threat he was talking about, when he himself had issued 21 books, without a single cut by a censor. When he started to look down on other Albanian creative artists, however, they very quickly reminded him of his "editorial days" at Radio Pristina, as well as his proven bad habit of the unlimited

use of texts from Radio Belgrade's Third Program. Academician Redzep Cosja never forgave them for that "outburst."

Redzep Cosja particularly surprised his compatriots, including the few of them who had gathered around them, in 1990, when he remained aside. He did not join any alternative Albanian party, like his intellectual colleagues. He is criticized now because he was not even present when the independence and sovereignty of Kosovo were declared, nor when the Kacanik "Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo" was adopted. He did not play any role at all even in the Albanian referendum on an independent Kosovo, nor was he observed on the occasion of the Albanian multiparty elections. As far as the elections are concerned, no one at that time even proposed Cosja for any office, much less opposed him to Ibrahim Rugova as a citizens' candidate.

Aware of all that, Cosja attempted to seize a "connection" with current Albanian politics in Kosovo by speaking out in the newspapers, with, as many people have observed, his old habit of giving lectures, which bothered the Albanian leaders who were openly heading their compatriots into resistance against Serbia, because, they said, they did not need advice from any "salon academician."

And while Ibrahim Rugova, with his Democratic Alliance with about 600,000 members and a total of about a million followers, is separating the Albanians from Serbia and Yugoslavia with his so-called peaceful resistance, Cosja, with casual criticisms that it is all a sheer waste of time, is trying to carry out his boldest political action to date. Although he has constantly claimed that politics does not interest him, he has not missed a single chance to suggest that the "glorious achievement" of national unification is the only course for Albanians. In explaining what that means, he claimed a year ago that no one will give the Albanians a unified state on a platter unless they achieve themselves with weapons. That is why he has been labeled a "warmonger, an advocate of the war option, the instigator of a military conflagration in the Balkans" both by critics on the Albanian side and the others. At that time he did not oppose it. Up until last year, he was preoccupied with the idea of holding an all-Albanian assembly of national unification and reconciliation. He had the support of the former communists in Tirana in this. When they fell, however, that idea of his also failed, because Sali Berisa and Ibrahim Rugova did not support it.

Cosja is now repaying them for that in the polemics by calling it a betrayal of Albanian national interests; he was insulted that Berisa and Rugova accused him of encouraging terrorism and causing a military conflagration. Cosja is paying them back with interest, and warning that they will answer to their own people for rejecting the idea of a "Greater Albania," for accepting the international position on the inviolability of borders in Yugoslavia, and for consenting to a peaceful settlement to the Kosovo program through agreements. He cannot forgive Berisa "because he reduced the Albanian question to the most undesirable option—the issue of human rights and freedoms," or Rugova because, from advocating a "republic of Kosovo," he has come to "a settlement of the Kosovo problem that will be acceptable to all interested parties."

As a response to that, he organized an Assembly of Albanian Intellectuals in Tirana, the first goal of which was to unite all Albanians. Although it is being widely commented now that that gathering was only attended by intellectuals who had been servants of the former communist regimes on both sides of the border, it is felt that Cosja nevertheless scored at least one point in his favor in a roundabout manner.

Cosja very quickly lost that point, at least as one hears in Pristina, since with his view on the partition of Kosovo, regardless of the fact that he is seeking much more than the territory of Kosovo itself for "Greater Albania," he betrayed the national cause. Berisa and Rugova have already told him that the dream of a "Greater Albania" is frivolous, and all realistic political forces among Albanians know that even if there were a demarcation, the Albanians could not take as much as they want at that time. The fact that Cosja threatened a military conflagration if the Albanians were not allowed to form a unified state on all territories where they live is considered in Pristina to be due to his desire to score new political points through an obsolete political illusion.

He has been particularly criticized by Albanians in recent days for arguing with Albanian President Sali Berisa, as already stated, "on a low political and intellectual level," and for egotistically declaring his literary work to be "eternal, as long as Albanians live," while declaring the entire democratic leadership of Albania to be a transitory one and unworthy of Albanian history and culture. This led people familiar with his literary work in Pristina to tell him that it was clear to them why he was doing this, because, they say, he realized that "his socialist-realism had failed," and that everything that he had done to date "would be forgotten very quickly," especially since he had lost his powerful communist patrons on both sides of the border.

Currently, Cosja's sudden breakthrough onto the political scene is viewed in Kosmet as a drowning man grasping at straws. He has remained virtually alone, since the Albanian masses are still obediently listening to Rugova's orders. Cosja only has behind him those Albanians who are prepared to annex Kosovo to Albania at any cost. They consider him personally the biggest leader of the opposition to the Albanians' existing political parties in Kosovo.